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A SOVIET Government in Persia? So it would appear from this concluding sentence in an Associated Press dispatch from Angora, Turkey: "The National Assembly has sent a mission to Teheran to sign a treaty with the new Persian Soviet Government." This, as the New York *Call* points out, is quite characteristic of the way important news from the Near East is concealed from the American public. We heard months ago that British troops had retired from Persia and subsequently that a treaty had been signed by Russia and Persia which reflected great credit upon Moscow, but no reading of the dispatches gave any American the slightest intimation that the government which arose in Persia after the English retreated was of the soviet variety. Undoubtedly knowledge of this happening is having its effect upon the diplomatists and probably is in part responsible for the report that the Allies are about to lift the embargo upon arms and ammunition for Greece and are to give money and further aid to that hapless country in order to make still another effort to overthrow the Angora Government. The frantic efforts of the French to induce the Nationalist Turks to forget Asia and to turn toward Constantinople is further proof of the unhappiness of the Allies. But the Angora Turkish Government shows no signs of fear. It has just received the promised arms and ammunition from Russia, it knows there is a great Russian army in Bessarabia menacing Bulgaria and Rumania; hence it may decide to take the offensive. It has not yet become a soviet itself but it is in the deep shadow of them. How long will it be before their example proves contagious?

LENIN has, of course, completely failed to make good his prophecy that within a twelve-month the communist doctrines would overthrow the German and Allied Governments. But he can nevertheless point to the happenings in the Near East and latterly in France to show that the soviet idea at least is making headway. There is now a formidable group of soviet republics stretching from Moscow to the gates of India—Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Persia, all bound together by treaties of amity and mutual defense. Just how far these new soviet governments are communist does not yet appear. In Persia they are dividing the large estates, but so far it is not clear that communism itself has been adopted. In France, on the other hand, the powerful French Railwaymen's Congress has declared for the Moscow program by a vote of 55,140 to 53,677. This comes on top of the split in the whole French labor movement as a result of the radical vote of the General Federation of Labor and of the vigorous anti-militarist demonstrations and numerous acts of insubordination during the recent mobilization of two additional classes of conscripts to which is, in part, attributed Premier Briand's change of policy with regard to Germany. Moscow may be starving, but it is still playing a tremendous role in international politics.

SILESIA continues to hang fire and, incidentally, to give off daily sparks. No sooner does Korfanty, urged by the Inter-Allied Commission, agree to withdraw his troops from the proposed neutral zone than General von Hoeffer, in command of the German forces, refuses to budge. The French threaten to withdraw their troops protecting the industrial section unless German troops are withdrawn from the neutral zone, and General von Hoeffer sadly says: "There is no understanding between the Germans and British in the matter." Or between the Germans and the French, the French and the Poles, the Poles and the British, he might have added. For while negotiations proceed but get nowhere, skirmishes occur regularly between French and German, and German and Polish troops. The British "Black Watch" has been reinforced by part of the Durham Light Infantry. As yet the British have managed to keep clear of actual fighting and are being used to extend the neutral zone, the plan being to insure quiet in an increasingly larger area by prohibiting the carrying of firearms by civilians. The idea seems simple and neat enough; whether the civilians will consent to be disarmed without a struggle remains to be seen.

"COURT upholds Mt. Vernon Ban on Socialists"—thus the headlines. But, of course, our all-knowing metropolitan editors, with a couple of honorable exceptions, fail to see that it is not a ban on Socialists which the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Brooklyn has upheld but a deadly blow at free speech everywhere. For if Socialists can be denied the right to speak in Mount Vernon without the license now unobtainable from hostile and utterly un-American city authorities, so can labor unions—as is openly

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the case in Pennsylvania—and Negroes, and anybody else whose opinions the city authorities may happen to dislike. Fortunately, the judge of first instance reversed by the Appellate Division, Judge Keogh, is one of the soundest lawyers we have on the bench in New York State and we confidently believe that when the case goes higher he, and not the Appellate Division, will be upheld. None the less, the decision is alarming as a sign of the times. Discontented Americans have been told that there was no excuse for violent methods of reform because the opportunity for reform lay in the ballot-box. The New York Socialists turned to it only to have their duly and legally elected representatives thrown out of the legislature. Now they are told that, with half of Europe socialist, they cannot even present their views in any New York town in which the mayor chooses to refuse them a permit to speak under a muzzling city ordinance. It is a fortunate thing that Socialists do not usually resort to violence or underground methods.

THE appointment of Mr. Albert D. Lasker, an exceptionally able Chicago business man, head of the Lord and Thomas advertising agency, as chairman of the Shipping Board at last gives hope that something will now be done to put that branch of the Government on a business basis. President Harding has been unconscionably slow in reorganizing that body owing to the fact that he has attempted to get hold of men so tied up with big business, like Mr. Teagle of the Standard Oil Company, as to be unable to free themselves. Meanwhile the status of our great new merchant fleet is deplorable. Hundreds of ships both wooden and steel are idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean; the strike of engineers and crews has demoralized the service further, and we are still totally without a national policy. Congress has, moreover, just had to appropriate an additional $110,000,000 for the fleet and has ordered the sale of all the wooden ships, at no matter what price, by October first. Abroad the situation is quite as bad—in England worse. Never in British history has the merchant marine been so demoralized, for which Britons have to thank in large part the Treaty of Versailles. The fall in the values of ships is frightful. Thus one just completed for $1,800,000 is actually worth but $425,000. Another, of 5,500 tons, contracted for at a cost of $1,375,000, on which $887,500 had been paid, has just been sold for $300,000, the owner having defaulted. Britain's whole merchant fleet today is worth only one-quarter of the value it possessed at the end of March, 1920. No new cargo-boat has been contracted for in England within twelve months—something unprecedented.

REVELATIONS before the legislative committee that is investigating the housing situation in New York show why fire insurance companies and savings banks fought so hard to prevent the inclusion of their business in the inquiry. Witnesses told of bookkeeping methods by which large amounts have been set aside as "concealed" or "unrevealed" profits, which in the opinion of Samuel Untermyer, counsel for the committee, should not have gone to the stockholders but toward the reduction of premiums. Enormous profits have been made by many fire insurance companies at the expense, of course, of the owners of the buildings protected. In ten years, for instance, the Continental Fire Insurance Company earned $23,000,000 on a capital and surplus of $18,000,000. In addition to this aspect, testimony brought out a system of bonuses and sharp business practices by which borrowers from savings banks and insurance companies are gouged. From one-third to one-half of the loan is commonly extorted as a bonus, and sometimes the borrower is obliged to take some undesirable piece of real estate as part of the loan. A Brooklyn savings bank was charged with making a loan to a building corporation in which the funds were paid in Victory bonds at par valuation. In order to realize cash, the borrower had to sell the securities at the market rate of less than 95, standing the loss. In view of all the leeches that have been bleeding the housing industry, the wonder is not that we have so little building but that we have any at all.

WHATEVER may be thought of the justice of the recommendation of the Railroad Labor Board for an average reduction of 12 per cent in the wages of workers, it is probably the part of wisdom for both sides to accept it. The Board has no power to compel the acceptance of its findings, but it is doubtful if public opinion would support the workers in strikes against the decision. Likewise the representatives of the railways, already large beneficiaries by the award, are showing poor sportsmanship and poor judgment in demanding further concessions. What both the railway workers and the public should do is to unite in a demand that the wage reduction be coupled immediately with a cut in the rates that are throttling business and keeping up the cost of living. Freight rates are most important, but passenger fares should go down too. Any one who travels these days can see the havoc in traffic which high fares have wrought. A traveler on a recent day Pullman from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh had only three companions, while another person rode from New York to Harrisburg on a day Pullman in which only three seats were occupied. It is the slump in passenger business which caused the passing of the dividend of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the common stock of which was for years rated as the safest in America.

AN official notice has been sent to postmasters forbidding them to act as spies for corporation detective agencies. The First Assistant Postmaster General puts it mildly when, in issuing this notice, he says "it is not believed that service of this kind by a postmaster would be desirable from any standpoint." The labor spy bureaus seem to have been hit with a boomerang too in the arrest of Albert Bailin for sending threatening letters to public officials engaged in prosecuting radicals. Bailin's defense is that he sent the letters on behalf of a labor detective agency. There now seems to be a strong effort to keep the case out of court because of Bailin's confession of the part taken by spy bureaus in fomenting "revolutionary plots" for the overthrow of government. Meanwhile, a new function of labor espionage is noted by the *New Majority*, which has come into possession of a letter sent to an employer by the Sherman Service, offering to obtain among employees petitions to have their wages reduced. A "verbatim resolution" is inclosed, reading as follows:

> Being conscious of the present depression in business and sensible of the fact that your success is our success, your loss our loss, and having discussed the possibility of the company continuing operations at a reduced payroll cost, from various angles, we desire at this time to express our appreciation shown us workers in your employ and do agree to whatever reduction is necessary in our weekly payment to permit the company to sell their product at a price which will enable them to get business. This reduction to take effect at your discretion.

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THE California Senate recently passed a bill to prevent aliens ineligible to citizenship—Japanese, in other words—from engaging in commercial fishing in any of the waters of the State, and the statesman in charge of its passage proclaimed that he was "fighting the battle of the white man." When the bill came before the lower house the secretary of the Fishermen's Union appeared and stated that neither he nor any other member of his organization favored the bill, that it was neither beneficial nor necessary, and that he hoped it would be defeated. He had taken the trouble to come all the way from San Pedro to the capital, a distance of 500 miles, to raise his voice in opposition. And so, fortunately, the Assembly killed the bill. The Alien Poll Tax Law which, however, has passed both houses is another instance of Japanese baiting, for although the legislation appears to affect all aliens alike, all but Chinese and Japanese can escape its burden either by becoming citizens or at least applying for their papers. Needless to say this continued pin pricking, indecent and in violation of our treaty with Japan, does not improve our mutual relations. But when another country attempts merely to apply to Americans engaged there in business the same laws that govern its citizens—oh, that's different. Suppose, instead of such wholly correct procedure the State of Tamaulipas were to initiate a law forbidding Americans from engaging in the oil business, or the State of Chihuahua were to debar them from mining, or the State of Baja California to suspend their fishing rights in its waters—well, we shudder to think of the consequences.

WHY is the Sheppard-Towner bill for the protection of maternity and infancy still held up in committee? What excuse does Congress offer for allowing, through failure to provide the means of proper instruction and care, the death of 200,000 babies a year in the United States and a maternity death-rate higher than in any other civilized country in the world? Every important national woman's organization is supporting this measure, yet on one pretext or another it has been held up since October, 1918. It passed the Senate in the last Congress and was reported out by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on January 29. But at the present time that committee, under the chairmanship of Representative Samuel E. Winslow of Massachusetts, is holding the measure, and demanding more hearings—though the committee devoted seven days to it in December. Why is the bill delayed? It can hardly be on behalf of the poor taxpayer; the appropriation called for is $1,480,000, four-tenths of 1 per cent of the amount provided for in the Naval Appropriation Bill passed by the House on April 28. The Sheppard-Towner bill is opposed by those same hardy opponents of democracy who have in the past fought against woman suffrage and for child labor. They are attacking the measure as "socialistic" and "paternalistic." In the name of liberty these men with a dingy record of opposition to liberty are blocking a necessary measure of educational reform. And while they talk, while Chairman Winslow asks for more hearings and delays, mothers and babies are dying needlessly in the United States.

IN a decision handed down on February 28 last by the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals it seems that the Francisco Sugar Co., a New Jersey corporation owning extensive plantations in Cuba, had found that Federal income taxes annoyed it exceedingly—to the tune, in fact, of $1,000,000. To avoid this annoyance it devised the ingenious plan of leasing all its property to a Cuban corporation of a less taxable character. A stockholder, for reasons best known to himself, sought to restrain the lease as an attempt to evade taxation. The Sugar Company when it got into Court resented the imputation. It wished to *avoid* taxation and save its stockholders a million dollars. Why, certainly, that was admitted. But to *evade* taxation! That savored of dishonesty or fraud, and of such intention all were as innocent as new-born babes. However admirable the ability to think up such nice distinctions, it is some satisfaction that the attempt did not succeed and that the lease was enjoined. Justice Minturn and two other judges held that a corporation created by the State could not "upon an open confession at the bar of this Court of its purpose to circumvent the law of the land obtain the imprimatur of the Court upon its dubious undertaking." Now this seems to us to be political lucidity of an almost obvious sort, but strange to relate, five justices disagreed with Justice Minturn, and the rest, although voting to enjoin the lease on other grounds, avoided an expression of opinion.

IT matters little to most of us that Mademoiselle Lenglen, the French star, beat Mrs. Mallory, the American hope, for the woman's lawn-tennis championship of the world in two straight sets, 6-2, 6-3, near Paris the other day. But it is noteworthy that what is reputed to be the psychology of the two nations was reversed in the playing of the match. Said Mrs. Mallory after the contest: "She is just the steadiest player that ever was. She just sent back at me whatever I sent at her and waited for me to make a fault." And one of the newspaper correspondents remarked of Mademoiselle Lenglen: "She let Mrs. Mallory go quietly for two or three shots across the net, then she began to hurry her, and the end was at once apparent. The American woman began to get rattled, and her drives finished up in the net." So? According to tradition, it should have been the other way about. Do we not always picture the French as excitable and unsteady, and ourselves as cool and dependable? International sport is a fine means not only of increasing world friendship but possibly of revising our pet theories of nationality and race.

MORE pearls from a mind of 1870, as enunciated by President Harding:

> I know nothing nobler in this world than the defense of one's own. That is an inherent thing in man, planted in the human breast by God Almighty. There wouldn't be any civilization today if men weren't willing to give up all for its preservation.
>
> But the preservation of the established order is one thing, and it is highly essential, while crusading for a new order is quite another thing, sometimes most nobly inspired, sometimes most illy advised. I can believe the ideal for our country is a sensible blend of the maintenance of the established order and the enthusiasm of the crusader.
>
> I want to say to you young men that I hope you'll never be called upon to draw a sword nor fire a gun except in the expression of the customary amity and respect. And I promise you that while I am President you'll never be called to fire a gun except you can do it with the American conscience, with which you can answer to God. . . .
>
> I am less impressed by our helpful example to the world, in whose firmament there are the shining stars of these beautiful hills, than I am impressed by liberty's bestowal on those who came to join us in the American achievement.

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The Disgraceful Naval Bill

EVERY sane American ought to have hung his head with shame when he read the news that the Senate had passed the Navy Appropriation Bill and included in it the staggering sum of $500,000,000 for upkeep and new construction. It is not only that this is the largest appropriation in time of peace in our history, or that it comes two and a half years after the end of the war which we were positively assured was certain to end war, or even that it is flying in the face of public opinion. The country had shown with astonishing unanimity that it did not wish to have its substance wasted in this way, that it desired its taxes reduced, and sought to embark upon a more Christian policy toward other peoples. The final proof of this, the remarkable disarmament vote of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, came just before the Senate's action. But the Senate persisted and with what appears only as hypocrisy coupled with its vote unanimous approval of the Borah resolution for a conference with England and Japan looking toward a reduction of navies within a period of five years. We are grateful, of course, for the adoption of the Borah proposal, but we cannot believe that any European statesman read of it and of the size of the appropriations that went with it without sticking his tongue in his cheek. That is utterly the wrong way to disarm.

What adds to our feeling is the information that the Borah plan is to be complicated by the House in conference by coupling with it a proposal for a general disarmament of the land forces of the great nations, including France, and a reference of the whole question to the President, on the ground that he is probably thinking about the problem anyway and that it is his wish that it be left in his hands so that his executive authority shall not be infringed or his Presidential dignity impaired. The new House resolution to be substituted attributes the initiative to him. But there is as yet no evidence whatever that the President has any real desire for disarmament. There is still less evidence that he resents the way the Senate has defied the sentiment of the country by deliberately adding no less than one hundred millions to the bill as it came from the House. He must, however, be aware of the scandalous log-rolling features that accompanied it. The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* declares the various pork-barrel appropriations in it to be "the most brazen in years," which calls attention to the fact that the navy bills are fast taking the place of the old river and harbor bills as the best means of getting large appropriations for communities or sections. Some of the worst schemes for wasting public funds were blocked, like the plan for a huge naval base in the Hawaiian Islands and a hundred-million-dollar naval station at Alameda on San Francisco Bay. But the Charleston harbor swindlers captured $1,150,000 for a new dry-dock. Scores of naval officers have protested against the scheme to build a great navy yard at Charleston, as well as a special committee of the Senate itself headed by Senator Ball. In 1916 the head of the Bureau of Yards and Docks testified that there was need for but one large dry-dock south of Cape Hatteras and that that should be at Guantanamo in Cuba. The Navy General Board is on record as saying that the Charleston station should never be anything else than a subsidiary base "limited to utilizing the yard for repairing and maintaining reserve destroyers and torpedo vessels."

Now, the Senate, at the very moment that the Secretary of the Treasury declares that we are heading for disaster if we do not retrench, would hand out more than a million to the Charleston politicians. The reason is openly given in the cloak rooms of the Senate. It is that it was obligatory to do this in order to get the Southern Democratic votes necessary to make sure that the extra hundred millions the Senate tacked to the bill would stay there. Already at Port Royal there is an utterly wasted dry-dock that also cost millions, which no large ship can reach because of the channel. But the millions of public funds squandered there serve apparently only as an incentive to waste more at Charleston, where it will cost $8,000,000 if the channel is to be deepened so as to permit of ships of forty-foot draft reaching the new dock. All of this in the name of patriotism and national defense!

How such Senators as Messrs. Borah and Johnson could vote for so infamous a measure as this even though it contained the Borah proposal we cannot understand—even after reading Mr. Borah's explanation of his vote. We much prefer the position of Senator King of Utah, who voted in opposition and made the ringing declaration that "the American people will not submit. They will rise and protest against this indefensible policy of extravagant waste." He asserted that at least $200,000,000 could have been cut out of the bill. But the Senate did not wish to cut out anything. A small group of members fought for a day or two and sliced off a million here and a million there, and then shamefully surrendered while a good deal more was added. How Admiral von Tirpitz and all the German navalists will rejoice when they read the news! Have they not the right to say that we are building against England precisely as they were?

What is more, the Senate's vote is utterly stupid even from the point of view of an intelligent supporter of a large navy. Senator King declared that we spent $6,000,000,000 upon our navy up to 1920 and that "it is practically obsolete now." The very week in which he said this saw the printing of the news that the original Dreadnought, the British vessel which started the whole mad craze for huge battleships, had just been sold to a junk-dealer for sixty shillings a ton, although scarcely fifteen years old. So far as we can recall this ship fired no shots during the war. Yet some of the ablest English admirals assert that all the other dreadnoughts and superdreadnoughts and super-superdreadnoughts are just as much out of date as this one which bears no small share of the odium attaching to the men and things that brought on the World War. These British officers insist, like numerous American officers, that the big-gun ship is of the past; that in the next war the submarine and the aircraft will control. Yet the Senate would not even await the tests of the effect of aerial bombing upon the captured German ships off our coast which may have been concluded when this copy of *The Nation* goes on sale. It is altogether a scandalous performance, a brazen flaunting of the popular will, a giving of the lie to our chief war aim, which ought to call forth that popular rising which Senator King prophesies. If it does, the storm of protest ought to rage around the White House even more vigorously than the Senate. Meanwhile, we hope that the bill will at least be deadlocked in conference.

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No War With England

IX. Fact, Fancy, Myth, and Rumor

FROM Virgil's evil spirit Fama, spreading her cloud of lies like a swarm of locusts over the earth, to the stock theme of the popular play, the newspaper feature, and the woman's page, writers have never tired depicting the sinister ease with which gossip can roll into formidable tragedy.

Somewhere, sometime, when a freight steamer was unloading at a foreign port, a packing case broke loose and crashed to the dock, ruining its content of delicate optical instruments. According to Rumor, the ship was English, the instruments American, the accident deliberate. Soon we have it that the entire British merchant marine is engaged in a conspiracy to destroy American foreign trade by spoiling our shipments in one way or another, that our freight is intentionally delayed, that all kinds of intricate commercial sabotage is practiced in order to bring disaffection to our foreign customers. Every new circumstance which can be given a suspicious interpretation—and how many circumstances cannot?—flies from mouth to mouth and is used in corroboration. Even the seamen's and engineers' strike becomes part of the conspiracy to drive the American flag from the seas.

Unfortunately there is some factual basis for much rumor. Such reality may be found, *inter alia*, in the refusal of Lancashire spinners to accept American cotton unless carried in British ships and under British insurance; in the holding up in England of American cables to continental business firms until British houses could compete; in countless instances of commercial warfare the world over, where the victim of the common jungle code of business sees his hated rival only as a Britisher, or an American. That men of a certain stamp play the same tricks on business competitors of their own nationality is generally overlooked. On the British side of the ledger charged against us is the ready cancelation of American contracts, a practice condoned here under the pressure of necessity, but regarded in England as sheer dishonesty.

Then there is the British secret service. Everyone knows that the United States was its happy hunting ground during the war. The confession of Mr. John R. Rathom was vastly enlightening as to its nature and extent. Mr. Samuel Untermyer's statement that the only information which our various intelligence departments developed was supplied by the British finds confirmation at every hand. A distinguished Massachusetts attorney, charged during the war with investigating alleged German spy plots, stated in private conversation recently that while he found virtually no trace of these he encountered British agents in profusion. Further substantiation is the extraordinary statement in the editorial columns of the Boston *Transcript*—extraordinary because in the *Transcript*—as recently as last month, that "this country is uncomfortably full of British propagandists" and that "one thing that may tend to increase the current irritation is the over-indulgence of our British friends in the pastime of propaganda." The discovery which many Americans are making that the "subtle" German propaganda with which this country was so deeply impressed (what there was was clumsy and obvious) was at times a form of British propaganda, is not only irritating but cause for a growing suspicion of British purposes. Then there are such manifestations as the rewriting of our school textbooks, which have been in use for a century, to euphemize Britain's role in 1776 and 1812. On the other hand there has usually been great bias in our average school histories, and there is a certain validity in the correction of some American conceptions made by Mr. Owen Wister, despite his own deep prejudices.

What is, however, ominously significant in the Anglo-American relationship today from the point of view of future peace is that in the campaign of innuendo and rumor England occupies virtually the position—at least with a large section of our population—that Germany did in the spring of 1917. In any event she is almost uniquely (we may except the small and unimportant group of professional Japan-baiters) the object of whispered suspicion. Who has not heard the comments—not merely of our professional Anglophobes—uttered in envy, not admiration, that the English are the cleverest people on earth, that England "plays the game" all the time, that *her* Government backs up its business men! The variations are infinite. And whether it be by the political jiu-jitsu with France from which Britain emerges with all the Near-Eastern oil lands or the diplomatic finesse with which she captures Latin-American good-will, or whether it be in wholly wise abstention from a big battleship program when newer inventions may turn the balance of future naval power, Britain is erecting here the phantasm of an indomitable, immeasurably crafty, subtly scheming empire absorbing by devious ways the free spaces of the earth and the wealth that is in them, and determined to crush those in her pathway. And it merely aggravates the menace to Anglo-American friendship that to the British, America supplies an equally sinister counterpart as a nation uttering only the loftiest sentiments but acting in utter dissonance with them, engaging in a war in which "it asks nothing for itself" yet subsequently demanding much, as a country which, while preaching idealism and pacific intentions, has forcibly conquered weaker neighbors and is steadily increasing its domination over the entire central portion of this hemisphere. The familiar historical picture of a Great Britain invariably destroying its nearest commercial competitor is fully offset by that of the United States growing in less than a century and a half from a peaceable self-contained coast-line colony to a nation which has successively acquired by stealth or wealth from France, Spain, England, Mexico, Russia, and again from Spain, Denmark, and from small formerly independent countries a great expanding commercial empire.

Indeed there is little on one side that cannot be found on the other, but who will admit the beam in our own eyes when nationalist passions and hate are aroused? For if Mr. Frank P. Walsh is correct in his statement that "the world is a British prison," and it is so for thousands who would travel freely but find themselves barred because they have at some time sympathized with the Irish or Hindus, or perhaps with radical labor, it is also true that our own Government has moved backward into the dark ages of intolerance with its exclusions, suppressions, and persecutions. For the atrocities in Ireland and India with which the "defender of small nations" approaches moral bankruptcy, the America of the "square deal"—the America which went to

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war for the "rights of small nations"—presents hands dripping in the blood of Haitians, Santo Domingans, and Nicaraguans. British intrigue for the Mesopotamian oil wells is balanced by American machinations for the petroleum deposits of Mexico. And underlying the whole campaign of suspicion and hatred is mutual jealousy, not so much of peoples but of special interests which, however, play on the fear and susceptibilities of millions who have only the remotest concern with the questions at issue.

Thus every iniquity, every act of rapacity, selfishness, or dishonesty in either land, may sow new dragon's teeth to vex us anon. If only the people of the two countries could banish the evil genie of a distorted nationalism which grows mountain-size over every trifling "incident," and realize that their frailties are human and common to every tribe! Here is the task to which decent and peace-loving people of both nations should apply themselves. And first let them make their own government clear its dirty skirts. Nothing can be gained by concealment and suppression. Here, as elsewhere, the truth shall make us free.

The Truest Sect

THERE was a notable event in New York City the other day. In the new Town Hall a welcome precedent was established by a meeting to set forth the principles of the Quaker faith, with some reference to what its members have been accomplishing amid the turmoil of the world. It was a noble story and, as most noble stories are, it was told to a somewhat small gathering. At least it was told. For once the Friends decided to take the public into their confidence and to state in public meeting their religious challenge to the world. Modesty has been of the essence of this faith, and self-expression too. Proselyting has not been stressed. To join the Friends one must have been impelled irresistibly from within. As for societies for the propagation of the faith of William Penn, or the sensational methods of some revivalists, they are utterly taboo; no Quaker has ever suggested them—he would not be a Quaker if he did. So the world has gone its stupid, bloody way, all unheeding.

This is a genuine misfortune, for this is the one great religious group in the world that has been true to itself, to its faith, and to the Savior since 1914. It is the one notable Christian sect which has not bowed down to the god of war. True, it has its backsliders—what group has been spared the humiliation? But in the main the Quakers both in England and America have been gloriously true to their beliefs. Exempted by law from military service, many a British conscientious objector refused to avail himself of this sanction and went to jail suppressing the fact that he was a Friend in order to make his protest against the public murder known as war, to suffer for conscience' sake even as the greatest of leaders. On both sides of the Atlantic the young Friends sought posts of danger. As the young Lord Delawarr refused to kill but went to the most trying and dangerous service of mine-sweeping to show his eager willingness to die if only he could thereby save the lives of others, so did dozens of young British Friends. From America they went over to drive ambulances or to take posts of nursing or reconstruction, often under shell-fire. Emphatically they have filled the role which would have been that of the Red Cross had it not flung away its ideals and become the nationalistic adjunct of armies. No one could question their steadfastness or their loyalty to something finer than any nation. None failed to respect them. Even the professional distillers of hate could not affect these nor even sought to. The quiet modesty, the selflessness of the men and women of the faith were their passport everywhere. When the real history of the war comes to be written no chapter will be as lustrous, as inspiring, as idealistic, as Christian as theirs.

There is nothing unpractical about them. They were of the first to bring succor to the suffering civilians behind the lines in France and at first the funds for this came only from Friends. Gradually the quiet effectiveness of their work and its utter selflessness led to much wider financial support. Their reconstruction work was of the best; the visionary idealists were found to be remarkably good executives, with a team work about their staffs that was never surpassed. As soon as possible after the armistice they went into the enemy countries to feed and clothe the starving. They were the true practical Christians. Had the victorious governments but assumed this role of the Good Samaritan there would be real peace in the world today. Wholly without hate or bitterness, the Friends saw in Germans and Austrians only men in the image of the Maker. They had no feeling of revenge to gratify; they absolutely refused to take any holier-than-thou attitude, with the result that America today stands higher than any other nation in German eyes—a fact which is bound to produce rich dividends of good-will in the years to come and excellent material returns as well in future decades. Now these messengers of reconciliation have been intrusted with the work of disbursing the American money which is going into Russia to save the starving and sick. They are to have the priceless privilege of showing to Russians as they have to French and Germans and Austrians the very finest spirit of America, a true flowering of Christianity. The soul of America lies safe in their keeping.

Would that their church numbered its millions! If they were the established Church, these Quakers, there would be no need to preach disarmament. This is not the church that sings "Onward, Christian Soldiers," and goes to war; that blesses the flags and drums and guns, and furnishes chaplains to go along. Yet it is the one church to have waxed stronger and more powerful during the war, to have won many adherents; it is the church which has gained men's and women's respect wherever its work has become known and seen. It is not the church that builds great temples out of the profits of sweatshops and tenements of the slums, nor the one which produces the greatest captains of industry. But within its modest walls there stirs the real breath of religious life.

If the Friends' quiet and simple and gentle spirit only swayed large bodies of men a true league of nations would not be long in forthcoming. Our quarrel with them is that they hide their light. They have not gained as they should have because they would not recruit; they have seen many of the younger generation stray from the fold because the Quaker message was not made real and vital to them. Now, at last, there is a stirring among them and new signs of life. Can they not reach out and ask into their fellowship? We venture to assert that hundreds of thousands in every land long today as never before for such a faith and know not that it exists, or that welcoming hands await them.

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Tulsa

"AN impudent Negro, a hysterical girl, and a yellow journal"—this, according to the Adjutant General of Oklahoma, is the combination which precipitated the terrible race riot in Tulsa and the killing of a score or so of people. Just how "impudent" the Negro was—impudence in a Negro is often self-respect in a white—remains to be proved, and how hysterical the girl; the deadly possibilities of yellow journal reporters the country, alas, knows to its shame. This time the unscrupulous journalist brought about the worst riot since East St. Louis's. The Negro quarter was destroyed by deliberately kindled fires, and thousands of persons were made homeless and penniless, the property damage alone being $1,500,000. But the damage to Tulsa itself would be irreparable if the attitude of that community were the brazenly defiant one which usually marks a Southern community after a scene of such violence and lawlessness. Happily, Tulsa has had remorse and is not afraid to admit it. A former mayor, Judge Loyal J. Martin, chairman of the emergency committee, has declared:

> Tulsa can only redeem herself from the country-wide shame and humiliation into which she is today plunged by complete restitution and rehabilitation of the destroyed black belt. The rest of the United States must know that the real citizenship of Tulsa weeps at this unspeakable crime and will make good the damage, so far as it can be done, to the last penny.

There at last we have the true American note—no effort to blacken a race or to mitigate the shame, but that honest confession which alone is good for the soul of the guilty. To quote Judge Martin again:

> We have neglected our duties and our city government has fallen down. We have had a failing police protection here, and now we have to pay the costs of it. The city and county are legally liable for every dollar of the damage which has been done. Other cities have had to pay the bill of race riots, and we shall have to do so probably, because we have neglected our duty as citizens.

Precisely; that is a good explanation of the intensity of the race problem in most of our cities. Your business men lure the blacks into the cities from the land; they pour into already overcrowded "quarters" to live in hovels or apartments so dilapidated as to be abandoned by all but the most shiftless whites. The burned Negro quarter in Tulsa was described as "a mile-square of shacks, huts, and hovels." Then if the Negro seeks to break out of such a ghetto you denounce him for his impudence in intruding upon the white man's preserves and lowering the value of his property. You curse him if out of his slough of despond come contagious diseases, if immorality and vice are rampant among human beings living like animals; and if a criminal bred in this environment comes out of it, you lynch him.

"We Americans," President Harding has just said, "are united in the sweetest concord that ever united men." Witness the smoking ruins of Tulsa, ruins that are to be rebuilt, though the innocent dead cannot be made to walk again! Is it all to end there? Surely there could be no clearer cause than this for the passage of Senator McCormick's bill for a commission to study the race issue. If Mr. Harding is to be President of the whole nation, if he is to do anything to bring about that "sweetest concord" which today is a figment of his imagination, he should insist upon an immediate inquiry into the color problem.

The Dempsey and the Carpentier

THE Dempsey and the Carpentier
  Were working close at hand;
And each of them he wept to see
  The other had such sand.
"If only it were blown away,"
  Each said, "it would be grand!"

"If seven mouths with second wind
  Should blow for half a year,
Do you suppose," the Dempsey said,
  "That they could blow it clear?"
"I doubt it," said the Carpentier,
  And shed a bigger tear.

"O Sparring Partners, come with us,"
  The Dempsey did beseech.
"A pleasant game, a pleasant fame,
  A lot to learn and teach.
We do not care for more than four,
  To try a fist on each."

Four Sparring Partners hurried up,
  All eager for the treat;
Their coats were brushed, their faces washed,
  Their shoes and hats were neat—
Although it must be owned they had
  Less head than they had feet.

"A loaf of bread," the Dempsey said,
  "Is what we chiefly need;
For Sparring-Partner sandwiches
  Are very good indeed—
Now if you're ready, Partners dear,
  We can begin to feed."

"But not on us!" the Partners cried,
  Turning a little blue.
"After such kindness that would be
  A dismal thing to do!"
To Number One the Dempsey said:
  "I will start off with you."

"It was so kind of you to come!
  And you are very nice!"
The Carpentier said nothing but
  "Cut me another slice;
I wish they were not quite so stout—
  I've had to hit one twice."

"I weep for them," the Dempsey said;
  "I deeply sympathize."
With sobs he finished off the Partner of the largest size,
Changing his snout into a spout
  And shutting up his eyes.

"Now Partners," said the Carpentier,
  "You've had your little fun!
You must be trotting home again."
  But answer there was none—
And this was scarcely odd, because
  They'd laid out every one.

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Alsatian Alsace

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

IV. The Language Question

ANYWHERE you go in Alsace today people will understand you if you speak German. The older people and the townspeople will understand you if you speak French. But if you listen to the talk of the couples who pass you on the street, of children at their games, of passengers in the train, of men in a cafe you will hear a curious dialect, unmistakably German in origin but very far from the German that you learned in school—Alsatian. Except for four or five small valleys in the Vosges it is the universal popular language of Alsace; it is the language which children learn at home. In the schools they have been taught German and later some French; but except for the few valleys and for the society world of the larger cities, Alsatian, a German dialect, is the natural tongue of the people, as it has been for centuries. It varies somewhat from north to south but all Alsatians understand each other. It is rather like the dialect of the Badish peasants, and far less different from High German than is the tongue of Bavarian mountaineers or Mecklenburgese. When the Consultative Council meets with the French Commissioner General the members talk French; but when the Strasbourg Municipal Council, made up entirely of Alsatians, meets, it does its business in Alsatian. So do the town councils of Colmar, of Mulhouse, of Haguenau, of Saverne, of Céléstat (Schlettstadt rechristened), and of the smaller towns; the council of Thann, which was behind the French lines all through the war, long attempted to meet in French, but recently voted to return to the mother tongue of its members, the German dialect Alsatian.

When one of his officers complained of the German-speaking Alsatian members of his army, Napoleon said "Let them talk in German; they will fight in French." That was the policy of the various French governments that ruled Alsace in the past; up to the Revolution, the Alsatians spoke no French at all; the Convention attempted to establish French instruction in all Alsatian communes but in vain; the Empire founded the first French normal school in Alsace; in the following century French became the language of the bourgeoisie and penetrated as a second language almost all classes, without compulsion, simply as the natural result of intimate relations with the rest of France. Only in the last five years of Napoleon III's reign was a serious effort made to establish French as the primary tongue. The free universal public school system which came in shortly after the annexation of Alsace by Germany was naturally a powerful weapon in the German program in Alsace. When the French returned in 1918, virtually every Alsatian under 65 had been schooled in German. The Germans had succeeded to a large degree in stamping out the French language if not French sentiment except in the narrow circles of the urban bourgeoisie. German is today the language of abstract thought for most Alsatians. The dialect is the language of the street and of the home; High German is the language of the church, the language of prayer, the language of political discussion and of the newspapers. The French language newspapers are read almost exclusively by the French officials; even in Strasbourg the local German language newspapers have a circulation several times as large as the local French papers, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is more read than the Paris *Temps*.

The return of the French brought a burst of popular enthusiasm for the French language. Store signs, street names were changed over night; grown men and women crowded the evening classes in French for adults. The classes are not so full today, but French has made extraordinary progress. Street-car conductors, shopkeepers, hotel-boys who three years ago knew not a single word of French have learned enough to do their business. Aside from the initial sentimental impulse, the economic motive to be able to speak some French is very powerful indeed, and will be increasingly so. For four years more Alsace is to have the benefit of the old free trade with Germany; after that her trade must perforce be chiefly with France. In business houses and government offices the Alsatian who cannot speak French is at a marked disadvantage. For such purposes knowledge of French as one knows a foreign language is adequate; but it is the official French policy to establish French as the dominant every-day language of the country; to replace German as the language of abstract thought, and to a degree to replace Alsatian as the *Umgangssprache*. Hence the decisions regarding the teaching of French in the elementary schools which have aroused so much discussion and abuse.

The primary purpose of the Alsatian elementary school of today is to teach French; the teaching of all other subjects is sacrificed to that end. When Alsatian children—the vast majority of whom do not know a word of French—enter school at the age of six, they are met by a teacher who has been ordered to speak nothing but French. This is the famous "direct method" of language instruction. The Rector of the Academy, in his instructions to the school inspectors, defends the system thus:

> [The direct method] might be called the maternal method. It is the method by which a mother teaches her child to speak. It consists in directly associating French words with the things or ideas they express. If the child thinks in a language other than French he will express himself in French only by means of translation; but all translation being only approximate, his thought will not develop in the molds which our language imposes upon French thought. If French is to be the dominant language the child must think directly in French, and that involves the principle of the direct method. . . . To begin with German and introduce French later would leave French merely an accessory language. The relationship between German and the Alsatian dialect is so close that German, if taught first, would surely keep the upper hand over French.

The difficulty is that the children have already learned Alsatian-German by the maternal method, and the switch at school is confusing. Nevertheless, all Alsatian children are henceforth to begin with and continue in French at school. Beginning with the fourth school year they will have three hours a week of German, in addition to the four hours a week of religious instruction which, upon the insistence of the priests and pastors, is also given in German. The ten- to fourteen-year-old scholars who had begun their schooling in German cannot of course be fitted immediately into this system; although arithmetic is taught in French throughout, German grammar, reading, and writing have

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four hours a week, and such subjects as history, geography, and natural science are necessarily continued in German—as the Rector's circular frankly states, because neither pupils nor the Alsatian teachers know enough French. However, the instructions are explicit that at the end of each such lesson given in the German language the teacher must write a summary of the lesson upon the blackboard in French, and this the scholars must learn by heart and recite textually at the next session. The Rector remarks, in italics, that this is "absolutely imperative." In the secondary schools and at the university (save in the theological faculties) all instruction is in French.

Fifteen hundred and fifty teachers—about a quarter of the active teaching staff—have been brought into Alsace from the interior of France to aid in this program; virtually none of them know the Alsatian dialect to which the children are accustomed, and few know even High German. Four hundred and fifty Alsatian teachers have been sent into France to improve their knowledge of French; some are at French normal schools, and a few actually teach there. Obviously, as the French teachers adapt themselves better to Alsace and as the Alsace teachers learn more French, the success of the direct method will be greater. Its present success is not extraordinary. In the Thann Valley, where the French have been for nearly seven years, the children speak excellent French, but it is probable that this is due more to the instruction which they received out of school hours from the poilus cantoned in the villages than to the five hours a day of direct method in the schoolroom. Even so the dialect holds its grip. I met a group of schoolchildren on the road at St. Amarin; they answered their teacher in good French and in the next breath spoke to each other in dialect. I made it a point day after day, in Strasbourg, Colmar, Mulhouse, to be at the school gates when the schoolchildren poured out; it was very rare to hear them speaking anything but dialect to each other. I visited school classes in the best school of Strasbourg; children of nine in their third year of the direct method had made only fair progress in French and very scant progress indeed in other subjects. A class of six-year-olds, after six months of direct method, could sing a few French songs and recite, in sing-song fashion, a few very simple sentences ("il fait beau temps aujourd'hui," etc.). The teacher, who spoke no German or Alsatian, said that the first three months had nearly driven him out of his head, but that he was now able to communicate with his pupils. Meanwhile across the hall religious instruction was being given in High German by a teacher who knew Alsatian as well, and the children readily understood both languages.

Critics of the direct method include the Clerical Party, Alsace's largest party, almost en bloc, and most of the Socialists and Communists, and they are frank and violent in denouncing it. They declare that it means sacrifice of a generation of Alsatians; that the children grow up with no thorough comprehension of any language, half strangers in their own families, ill-educated, incapable of expressing abstract ideas. The really clever children will master the situation, they say; the average and less-than-average children will be intellectually crippled. Politically, the direct method is sentenced daily in the newspapers; as a pedagogical question, however, and as such it must ultimately be treated, it cannot finally be judged for another five years. It is in practice, with more or less deviation in the villages from the fixed rules elaborated in Strasburg; and it is a fertile cause of discontent. The curés tell strange tales of children who have learned to speak French without understanding it, who come to their parents asking "Vater, was ist ein œuf?" or translate fables into dialect without the slightest idea what *renard* or *raisin* may be.

Francisation is in progress not only in the schools. There it is, perhaps, most obvious. The entire corps of higher school officials in Alsace, with one exception, is from the interior of France. An Alsatian may in time, I was told by the Director of Primary Education, become a school inspector in the interior of France, but not in Alsace: "That would be to perpetuate the German system." (One wondered what was the essential of the German system; the language, or the domination by outsiders?) "Ce n'est que comme ça qu'on peut franciser," he added. The theaters are not allowed to play in German; as a consequence, except for the one dialect theater in Strasbourg, which is very restricted in its repertory, they are never full. The courts are conducted in French, with interpreters, although in some cases an Alsatian has the right to insist upon use of his language; only French-speaking Alsatians are eligible for jury duty. There are naturally many cases of Alsatians who, unwilling to admit their imperfect understanding of French, entirely misunderstand what the court decided; the mayor of Mulhouse told me of many such in landlord and tenant cases.

Imperceptibly the language question shades into the clerical question. French schools are purely lay schools, with no religious instruction whatever. Alsatian schools, under the regime of the Loi Falloux of 1850 which Germany maintained, are confessional schools; there are separate schools (except at Mulhouse) for Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, and religious instruction in the particular cult is given in each. The clergy have the right to enter the schools at any time to assure themselves that no instruction contrary to the doctrine of their church is being given. The Napoleonic Concordat, under which the state supports the clergy and the churches, was also maintained by the Germans, and is continued by the French Republic, repugnant as the system is to those who have grown up in the profoundly anti-clerical atmosphere of French civil administration. The clergy, both Protestant and Catholic, have insisted upon continuing their religious instruction in High German.

To the French political mind all this is bound to change. The confessional school is to be replaced, first by the inter-confessional school, where children of all creeds are taught together, separating only for religious instruction, and finally by the lay school of France. Church and state are to be separated ultimately as in France; and religious instruction, while it lasts, should be in French. This is not explicit, but it is a state of mind which French officials reveal in private conversation, and of which the Catholics are well aware. But the French are bound for the present at least by the promise of Marshal Joffre who, entering southern Alsace in 1914, pledged France to respect the customs and traditions of Alsace. "Customs and traditions," in the popular understanding, has come to mean very little except the old relation of clergy, school, and state. Almost all other special customs and traditions are rapidly disappearing. The French Government is in a peculiar situation as regards the Clerical Party—the Republican People's Party, it is called in Alsace—for at the general elections in November, 1919, the Nationalist French made common cause with the Clericals in order to defeat the Socialists, and

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bound themselves by a strict pledge to uphold the old church and state relationship. By the peculiar system of representation in vogue the Bloc National, including a Clerical majority, won all the 24 seats in the French Parliament, despite the fact that the Socialist and Radical vote in Alsace, 842,000, was not far behind the Bloc vote, 938,000. Whenever the Clerical question comes up in the French Parliament, therefore, the united Alsatian (and Lorraine) delegation speaks the Clerical point of view; 45 per cent of the population is voiceless. The French who would like to Francisize even the church, and their Alsatian allies, are helpless.

The Catholics have a traditional hostility to the French lay republic. The French Revolution, a national glory in French eyes, is to them abomination; it is the creation of the atheist Voltaire and the blasphemer Robespierre. The 1,500 French teachers brought into the Alsatian schools have stimulated this traditional opposition. French teachers have rather a tradition of free thinking, and naturally many of them refuse to give religious instruction. That is annoying. It is even more so when an atheist teacher, however earnestly, attempts to give the prescribed instruction in the Catholic religion. Catholic villagers resent it when they learn that their new teacher has three unbaptized children, or that the teacher remains seated when the children kneel to pray. To such incidents, and to the determined will of the clergy to continue religious instruction in the language to which they are accustomed, is due the fact that the Catholics, eighteen months ago the electoral allies of the most extremely nationalist French, are today the most outspoken critics of the Government.

In the clerical question the Socialists, natural enemies of the Government, find themselves its allies. The Socialist municipality of Strasbourg recently stirred up a tremendous row by ordering the teachers to tear eighteen pages out of the school catechisms, on the ground that the pages were offensively pro-German. It was of course primarily a slap at the church, for there are as offensive pages in school histories and other textbooks surviving from the German era —a map, for instance, showing Alsace as part of Germany. The bishop of Strasbourg ordered the teachers to refuse. Nevertheless all but eight of the teachers, including five of the eleven Catholic sisters in the schools, obeyed the order. The municipalities of Strasbourg and Guebwiller have both petitioned the Government to relieve them of the necessity of compulsory religious instruction in the schools. Such straws show the direction of the wind.

The Socialist alliance with the Government on the question of religious instruction breaks down in the language question. In Upper Alsace, where the Socialists fight shoulder to shoulder with the Clericals for bilingualism and the "rights of the mother tongue," they are strongest. It was largely the language question that made the schoolteachers of this department join in the successful general strike of April, 1920. In Lower Alsace, where the Socialist mayor of Strasbourg has been extremely Francophile, the Communists, more Germanophile in language questions at least, have won the majority of the old party. In Lorraine, where purely industrial questions play a larger part, the Socialists have faded out of existence; there are none but Communists left. The strike appeals of September, 1919, and of February and April, 1920, show clearly the resentment against French replacement of Alsatians in the factories and against foremen who spoke only French.

The language question persists. It is the acutest question in Alsace today. Friction on this question more than on any other develops the separate regionalist consciousness of the Alsatians. If, as some of the relatively Francophobe Alsatians hope, Alsace is to develop a strong autonomist movement, it will grow out of resentment against the attempted supplanting of the mother tongue. There is no real autonomist movement in Alsace today; but there is a strong Alsatian self-consciousness. The extraordinary assimilative power which French culture has shown in the French colonies, the relative calm of those colonies as compared with the British colonies today, and the history of the extension of the French eastern frontier lead one to believe that French tact will meet the present need; the arrogance of the present-day French temper toward anything even remotely German, the readiness of French officials privately to discuss Alsatian characteristics as "boche" traits, and their privately expressed determination to reduce the Alsatian tongue to the status of Breton or Basque patois lead one to fear that the result may at least be less immediate than they believe.

[*To be concluded.*]

The Sacco and Vanzetti Cases

By ELIZABETH GLENDOWER EVANS

THE trial before the court in Dedham, Massachusetts, for a capital offense of two Italians, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, raises issues of fundamental importance. The accused are men of excellent character and of unusual gifts. Sacco is a skilled shoe-worker who has been employed in one establishment seven years, earning sometimes as much as $26 in a single day. Vanzetti left industrial employment and bought a fish route in the Italian section of Plymouth for "love of independence." Both are radicals and have taken an aggressive part in the industrial struggle; in other words, they belong to the unpopular class of "reds."

The crimes for which Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested were an unsuccessful attempt to capture a pay roll at Bridgewater on December 24, 1919, and a hold-up at Braintree on April 15, 1920, in which the bandits got away with some $18,000 and the paymaster and one of the guards were killed. Both Sacco and Vanzetti were examined for both of these crimes, but only Vanzetti was put on trial for the first, that of Bridgewater. His trial took place last July, when he was found guilty and sentenced to fifteen years in the State's prison. It is for the second of the crimes, that of highway robbery and murder at Braintree, that both he and Sacco are now facing trial at Dedham.

The circumstances attending the arrest of the two men and still more developments at Vanzetti's trial have aroused a widespread belief in a frame-up. Substantial basis for this belief is furnished by the transcript of the preliminary hearings and of Vanzetti's trial. In these documents not a scintilla of evidence is produced showing why either Sacco or Vanzetti should have been charged with the Braintree crime (if further evidence exists, the accused were given no chance to meet it), while the only evidence which afforded ground for more than a surmise connecting Vanzetti with the Bridgewater crime was that of persons who had witnessed the hold-up and who claimed to recognize one of the men who had done the shooting—a man, be it re-

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membered, they had never seen before and of whom they got but a momentary glance upon an occasion of intense excitement. An interval of four months had elapsed between this occasion and the first attempt at identification; and between two or three months elapsed before the attempted identification at the trial. All but two of the witnesses, while they were fairly positive in their identification, admitted that there was room for doubt. "I think he is the man," "I feel so—but I may be mistaken."

Two witnesses, to be sure, were positive in their identification. One of these, about fifteen minutes before the hold-up occurred, had noticed a covered motor with the windshield up some distance up the street, and she claimed to have particularly observed the man at the wheel who she was sure was Vanzetti. But this witness was equally sure that she had seen the shooting, had seen the fire from the gun. And this she certainly did not see, as cross-examination developed the fact that a two-story building obstructed the line of vision between the scene of action and her point of observation from a window in the railroad station. Another witness, a schoolboy, who was equally positive that the man who fired the gun was the man before him in the dock admitted that he got but a "fleeting glance," and the only description he could give of him was that "by the way he ran I could tell he was a foreigner." Not one witness who described the gunman mentioned the unusually big mustache which is the striking feature of Vanzetti's physiognomy. The mustache of the bandit is variously described as "short," "croppy," "trimmed," "neither big nor small," "not a Charlie Chaplin mustache," "a mustache that had been cropped off at the end—not long and flowing." As I looked at Vanzetti in prison I could discern not one single point in his appearance which had been suggested by any one of the identifications.

To meet testimony which it is difficult to regard as serious the defense produced a long line of witnesses who swore that Vanzetti had been on his accustomed fish route at Plymouth from early morning till the afternoon of the day of the hold-up in a city twenty-eight miles distant. The landlady who had aroused him at six o'clock when a neighbor called with an order for fish, the man who keeps a shop near by, the boy who helped peddle fish from the cart and thereby earned his Christmas money, nine different housewives who had bought their day-before-Christmas dinner from Vanzetti—all offered testimony which had in it no element of discrepancy. Such was the more important evidence both for the prosecution and for the defense, as recorded in the official transcript of Vanzetti's trial.

When in the face of this evidence the jury brought in a verdict of guilty, one had a confused sense of *non sequitur*, such as one feels when a prestidigitator produces a rabbit out of a hat. That "twelve good men and true" should have brought in so amazing a verdict and that it should be followed by a sentence of fifteen years in State's prison is almost incredible. Other factors *must* have been present, it will be argued, which are not here set down. And to some degree this is true. For however intangible and discrepant the evidence presented by the prosecution was in most respects, upon one point there was agreement: The man who committed the crime was "some kind of a foreigner," he was "dark-complexioned," he was "swarthy—like an Italian," "he was a foreigner of some kind," he could even be recognized as a foreigner by "the way he ran." And similarly, there was the fact that "foreigners" were the only witnesses produced in behalf of the accused.

These things happened in the early months of 1920 when the anti-alien hysteria which had been gathering head since the war was at its climax. Aliens were presumably "reds" and "reds" were outside the pale of the law. Witnesses and court officials and jurymen of Cape Cod were perhaps not immune from this mob psychology. Is this suggestion resented? In the days of the witchcraft delusion did not the godly folk of New England see a witch in every old woman, and believe with the most perfect conviction that they beheld them riding on broomsticks across the sky?

Meanwhile the trial is under way and there is no appreciable defense fund without which two men, "presumably innocent" under our law, have scant chance to obtain justice. In every Italian settlement the country over the appeal went forth to save their brethren in this hour of peril, with an amazingly generous response. But that was earlier in the defense fund campaign and these funds have been consumed. Now from every section comes the cry of unemployment and of monthly pledges that cannot be redeemed. Quite apart from the possibility of a frame-up in the present case, the neglect of our judicial system to provide adequate funds for the defense of the accused is nothing less than a scandal. For innocence can be established only by evidence. And to unearth evidence, to sift every fact, and to run down every clue is a prolonged, a painstaking, and hence an expensive undertaking in no way covered by the trifling fee to counsel which is all the State allows to secure defense for the accused. The handicap of the defense seems particularly flagrant in the light of the fact that the prosecution has at its service the whole police force of the country as well as a swarm of private detectives, let alone almost unlimited funds.

The failure of our judicial system to defend the property and the lives of the poor when they are caught in the meshes of the industrial struggle is a most ominous sign of the times. It is now generally known that Mooney and Billings were the victims of a frame-up in California. An outrage like this sinks into the hearts of the workers until "law and order," so called, tend to become regarded as instruments designed for their oppression.

William James, with sure instinct, put his finger years ago upon the infected spot which today is poisoning the life of the nation. In a letter to H. G. Wells in 1906, referring to some outrage upon human rights, he wrote:

> Exactly that callousness to abstract justice is *the* sinister feature, and to me as to you the incomprehensible feature of our U.-S. civilization. . . . When the ordinary American hears of these [cases], instead of the idealist within him beginning to "see red" with the higher indignation, instead of English history growing alive in his breast, he begins to pooh-pooh and minimize and tone down the thing and breed excuses from his general fund of optimism and respect for experience. "It's probably right enough," "Scoundrelly, as you say, but understandable, from the point of view of the parties interested." But understandable in onlooking citizens only as a symptom of the moral flabbiness born of the exclusive worship of the bitch-goddess SUCCESS. That—with the squalid cash interpretation put on the words success—is our national disease. Hit it hard!

Liberty has been won, wherever it has been won at all, at a great price. Eternal vigilance is a part of that price, so the founders of the Republic taught. We citizens of the United States have entered into a most precious heritage which it is up to us to preserve for the benefit of all the people of the earth.

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Russia: Smoked-Glass vs. Rose-Tint

By HENRY G. ALSBERG

AFTER devoting pretty nearly three years to fighting for a particular cause and point of view, it becomes very difficult even to appear to go over to the opposition and run the danger of misinterpretation by all the somber elements of reaction. Then there is the further and keener feeling that one is taking leave of a good many old friends, of *comrades*, if the reader knows the full meaning and significance of that sacred word, comrades with whom one has felt very much at home, with whom one has hoped and feared and in a modest way suffered for lost causes. I know the outside world often wonders what has come of all the Russian revolutionary ardor and fearlessness which shook Czarism to its foundations before the war, and which now seems to have disappeared almost entirely before the bolshevik dictatorship. The explanation is not far to seek. Formerly every real revolutionary could throw himself into the struggle against Czarism with a clear conscience and the assurance that he would die as a martyr for the cause of freedom, recognized as a martyr by the whole world. Now, for one thing, the Menshevik, the Social Revolutionary, or the Anarchist who works in opposition to the Soviet Government does so with a rather uneasy conscience. He is fighting his own comrades, after all, the men who fought and suffered with him against the old tyranny. He feels that he is engaged in a sort of fratricidal conflict, in the course of which whoever is the victor will at the same time be the vanquished of the lowering White Guard forces. For a second thing, this comrade who fights the Bolsheviki no longer has the satisfaction of knowing he will die a martyr to the cause of humanity, acknowledged as such throughout the whole world.

The Soviet Government, through its control of the press and also through its good luck in having had chiefly reactionary enemies, is in a position to brand revolutionary opposition as counter-revolutionary. If you are guilty now, in Russia, of anarchist agitation against the Government, you are arrested and sent to jail as a White Guardist, or what is worse, as a speculant. If you are a counter-revolutionary you are apt to be pardoned very shortly, because White Guardist and Cadet propaganda is not considered dangerous to the Soviet Government. I have met plenty of men who formerly took part in Kolchak's movement or Denikin's who now have jobs in the Red Army. I know a man who was formerly Chief of the Secret Police who now gets on excellently, in some rather mysterious fashion, with the Tcheka. On the other hand, the sailors in Kronstadt, who never had any counter-revolutionary intentions, although their ill-timed attempt was taken advantage of by White Guardism lurking on the outskirts of Russia, these revolutionary sailors were branded and shot, eight hundred of them, as counter-revolutionaries. Sentimentally, therefore, opposition to the present Government by revolutionary elements has been made almost impossible except for the strongest minded. So, to a lesser extent, of course, we on the outside of Russia who consider ourselves radicals and yet begin to criticize the Soviets fall under the same ban of counter-revolutionaries, bought and paid for. How often was I told by Communists that Bob Minor wrote what he did when he came out of Russia because he needed money and wanted to sell some articles! The mentality of Russian Communists has become such that honest opposition is inconceivable to it. Didn't Radek tell me, in a burst of confidence, that really "Brailsford's articles were about as favorable as a man not one of us could be expected to write"?

How did all the Russian Communists fall into this strange trance of belief in their own infallibility? The cause is not far to seek. Heretofore there have been two kinds of journalistic conspiracies against Soviet Russia, the smoked-glass and the rose-tinted-spectacle conspiracies. The former, that insisted on seeing everything bolshevik in a darkened and distorted form, was very soon discredited. It committed suicide some time ago by over-indulgence in lies. Some of its last convulsions were comic. While I was in Russia recently some American sheet printed a story that Trotzky had eloped with the premiere ballerina of the Moscow Opera and that Lenin had declared a love week. By this time even the Russian official press has acquired a sense of humor and *Prawda* reprinted the love-week item without any comment. It was just at the time when all Russia was deeply absorbed in a heated debate concerning the future of the trade unions in the communist state, a discussion which was daily assuming graver aspects. Trotzky was touring the country speaking against Lenin's program and in favor of his own; Lenin was calling Trotzky and the backers of other schemes not coinciding with his own "fools who rock the boat" and "syndicalists," one of the worst things you can now call a Communist in Russia. At the moment nothing could have appeared more incongruous, more ponderously irrelevant and entirely out of the setting of contemporary Russian mentality than these fleshly lucubrations of a bourgeois press.

And I believe the outside world has quite come to realize that the reactionary press when it writes about Russia can claim no belief whatsoever from persons with a sense of humor. This appeared very clearly during the Kronstadt crisis when many of the British newspapers besides printing all the reports coming from the rumor factories of Helsingfors, Reval, Riga at the same time published also the official Moscow version and told their readers to take their choice. A prominent Soviet official said to me at the time, with a satisfied smile, "You know, I really believe that if our Government were to fall tomorrow and we were all shot, the outside press would not dare print anything about it for at least two weeks, believing the whole thing to be a White Guard lie." To tell the truth, the lying White Guard press has become a tower of strength to the Soviets.

So much for the smoked-glass conspiracy. But now for the rose-tinted spectacles. There has grown up an uneasy feeling among liberal-minded onlookers, and even among western Communists, that Russia has been swallowed a little too whole, without any mastication whatsoever. The Russian Revolution has been imposing itself on the western world as the only true brand of revolution or radical activity. Various considerations have contributed to this amiable delusion. In the beginning there were those who went to Russia determined to see only sweetness and light, no matter how dark the night or how unpleasant the odors in certain obscure corners. I do not blame Lansbury, Goode,

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and others. For the most part their testimony was given when Russia, at bay, faced the whole pack of European, American, and Russian White Guards. It was a good time to swear a hole through a deal board if necessary. As between Denikin, with whose blood-soaked, drunken officers I had to spend over two months, and the Soviets the choice was clear. Similarly only a fool or scoundrel could have thought of allying himself with Petlura, who had no principles except Petlurism and who could not control his massacring hordes; or with Judenich, with his huddle of hard-drinking officers without ideas or principles, actively aided by our Red Cross and by our Relief Administration which now complain that the Russians regard them with suspicion; or with the Northern Government of Tchaikowsky, which suffered from senility almost from the moment of its birth, and from the beginning, like all the other interventions, became a screen for White Guardism and an object of contempt both to the Allied Command and the native population; or with the Poles, who wrote themselves in blood across the Ukraine with their massacre in Jitomir and their sanction of massacre by their ally Petlura.[1]

But Denikin, Judenich, Wrangel, Tchaikowsky, Kolchak, and even the Poles have passed away as active menaces to the Russian Revolution. The need for heavily rose-tinted spectacles seems really to have passed. In retrospect one wishes that Lansbury had inserted a few more "ifs" and "buts" in his articles, that when he rejoiced that the churches were functioning he had at the same time stated that many of the church dignitaries, among them the Patriarch, whether rightly or wrongly, were under house arrest.[2] And one wishes that Goode had keenly realized that government programs are not accomplished facts, in Russia much less indeed than anywhere else. More recent visitors to Russia have seen that the time for talking about Russia as if it were a paradise for the masses has passed. Such visitors have been H. G. Wells and Brailsford. They, in my opinion, are the tail-enders of the rose-tinted-spectacles school. They are the Russo-benevolists, who recognize the difficult situation in Russia, but in view of western reaction and a fear that trade with Russia will not be resumed blame everything on the outside world. Wells, after a two-weeks' stay in Russia, writes a jolly and human book on the terrible decay of Russia's economic life. He states, pretty correctly, that the Communists constituted the only force which could have and will save Russia, and he kicks that old dog of the imperialist war and intervention and the blockade for all Russia's misery. Justly enough, but somehow that doesn't prevent the converse statement also from being true, that a goodly share of the misery in Russia today has been due to the stupid, deadening dogmatism, the corruption, the frightful bureaucracy, the tyranny, the disdain, the contempt for what we western "bourgeois" would call personality, the individual, which have been characteristic of Russian Marxism as distinguished from Russian human nature. Lenin again and again has pointed out that the communist regime has been not only stupid but also almost insanely doctrinaire. Only recently in his speeches before the All-Russian Communist Congress he admitted, for instance, that the whole peasant problem had been mishandled by insistence that the peasant should be communized, that is to say, that all his crop except a small amount for the support of his family should be taken by the state. As usual, Lenin could protect himself by referring to some past period when he had opposed this policy and stood out for the present policy "of levying only a fixed tax on the peasant."

At this point I am tempted to make a digression from my text and show how this huge mistake worked out in practice for millions of people. It is a leaf out of my own diary. Scene: Station of Winnitza in the western Ukraine. Time: End of August, 1920, six o'clock in the morning. I arrived at the station with my guide, protector, and guard, a revolutionary Lettish sailor from Kronstadt, who had been engaged in fighting bandits in southern Ukraine. At the station there is a terrible tumult and confusion. Men, mostly sailors, together with a few Red Guards, are running up and down the platform terribly excited, girding on their revolvers, getting together rifles. I ask a sailor to whom my guard introduces me, a sailor who could speak English, what was the trouble. "Why, d——n it, a few days ago we sent a couple of our boys down to a village near here to collect the quota of grain due, and those g—— d—— s——s b——s bashed the heads of our men in." "And what are you going to do now?" "What? Why we're going down there and give those —— what for. We'll burn down their village and shoot up the menfolks and ——." Pray imagine this *Zwangswirtschaft* going on all over Russia for several years.

Now it may be all right to say that a mother-in-law is an essential institution, but is it necessary to pretend that all mothers-in-law are flawlessly amiable? The Communists saved Russia, but it is doing them no service to pretend things that are not so. It is better to acknowledge the mistakes which have partly brought starvation to the cities. But it is more necessary still to point out that the communist government of Russia is no longer revolutionary or communist. Radek admitted to me, "Naturally we know quite well that we haven't communism at all in Russia now.[3] The peasant has beaten us. But we have preserved the advance guard of a small proletariat compact, well organized, and ready to fight the terrible reaction which otherwise would sweep from the west." This idea that an ass dressed up in a lion's skin can keep frightening the Churchills, Briands, and Stinneses with stereotyped brayings will soon be exploded, and western capitalists will see that they can easily come to terms with this docile creature.

It would be doing present-day Russia a disservice to continue with the myth of internationalism and world revolution. Russia of today is as she is, not to be covered with any formula or generalization. She has become what she is through force of circumstance, through pressure from without and within. How much of the crippling is due to doctrinairism perhaps I can point out later. But it should be pretty generally realized that Russia now is more national than international in tendency. The international effervescence is almost pumped out, and the chief desire of the rulers is to reconstruct Russia and in doing so to make every imaginable concession to internal and external bourgeoisdom. In many things the country has returned to pre-war tendencies. The foreign policy, although managed with an entirely different technique, faces much the same problems, at least in the East, as did the old Czar's regime. The present Government, again, is willing to sell as much

[1] I cite merely the one pogrom of the little city of Tetiev, where 4,000 people were killed by a Petlura band after the city had been taken by the Poles and the Polish troops had retired to about thirty versts distance in order that the Petlurovstas should have a free hand.

[2] The Patriarch was still under house arrest when I left.

[3] This was at the time of the Communist Russian Congress.

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of Russia to foreign concessionnaires on pretty much the latter's own terms as these latter can absorb. One is reminded of Witte's days. In return the Soviets want to get engines and agricultural supplies and, in general, manufactures and also technical and organizing skill.

But on the other hand the differences between the Soviet Government and the Czar's are great. Both could be called despotisms. There is no political freedom, nor freedom of the press or of speech or of assembly now. The country is ruled by a small body of men supported really by a proletarian bureaucracy, the Communist Party. But the differences between the old and new regimes are striking enough though not always apparent to individual Russians who have suffered from both. But, for one thing, the present Government is directed by one of the greatest intelligences of our or any time, Lenin, who always has his finger on the pulse of the masses and hasn't an ounce of Bourbonism in his makeup. He knows when to yield and when to be dogmatic. This was shown recently by the Kronstadt affair. Until then he had the prospect of facing considerable opposition in the All-Russian Communist Congress. On the one hand was the workers' opposition movement, which demanded more control by the trade unions of industry, a program which would have quite upset Lenin's plan for running Russia as a great industrial plant, aided by technicians ("specs," as they are contemptuously called by the Russian workmen) and foreign capital. On the other hand you had the fanatic Communists who did not want to make any concessions to the peasants nor permit free trade and freedom to workmen of employment, but wanted at all costs to go on to the bitter end with pure Marxism. It is always to be remembered that Lenin is threatened on both flanks. He must yield to the demands of the great masses of the people, those demands which he seems to hear intuitively, without the aid of an opposition press or other organs of public expression. If he does not yield, Russia will go to chaos. But at the same time Lenin is dependent on his own party of seven hundred thousand Communists (most recent census) for power, and this party is neither as sensitive to popular will as he, nor as ready to yield. Therefore he always has to wait for the favorable moment when he can force his own people to make concessions. Such a moment arrived with Kronstadt. A nightmare of dissolution hung over the All-Russian Communist Congress. The sittings were held in the Kremlin, under very strict guard. No outsiders were let in. The whole atmosphere was one of tension and suspense. The fanatic Marxists made practically no trouble at all. The workers' opposition, a really democratic movement, met with decisive defeat. Shliapnikov, one leader, was bought off with a big job; Kolontai, the other leader, was laughed down by a very funny but scandalous reference to her private life. You see Lenin is not above using the weapons of western politicians. In general, an atmosphere of "We must hang together or we shall all hang separately" pervaded the Congress.

Again, I repeat, Russia of today isn't, at its core, even leaving Lenin out of the question, a bit like Czarist Russia. The peasant has the land, and he is really untamed. He has beaten Marxism for the present. The question remains: Can Marxism reconquer him by helping him to modern methods of agriculture, and so help him to conquer his terrible birth-rate? Then, despite the practical tyranny, the spirit of the revolution still persists, both of democracy in the western sense and of democracy in the Marxian-Bakunin sense. And these will not soon die. The Russian people have been jerked ahead a century. In some respects, in so far as they have acquired a proletarian mentality, they have gone ahead of the western countries. It must be realized that there may be a proletarian consciousness which precedes a great industrial development, and which may quickly bridge the evolutionary stage. I think this mentality has been born in Russia.

But just because Russia has reached a certain stage of development, it is time to speak openly of things as they are. In the first place the truth will make the so-called bourgeois governments more friendly when they realize that Russia is no longer a center of Marxist infection, that Russia is fighting more desperately now for its existence as a nation than as the advance guard of the international, that at present Russian "internationalism" is a defensive weapon against capitalist internationalism. But western proletariats should recognize this as well, and that the intellectual dictatorship from Moscow is now ridiculous and that Russian communism can not serve as a model in Germany or England. They should demand that the blockade cease, but they should also beware of Moscow's subsidies.

That is one reason why I am writing as I do. Another reason is that Russia itself begins to need a bit of honest criticism. If that criticism for the present is not allowed inside Russia, it must come from the outside. I think, if there is a good crop in Russia this summer and a bit of foreign-trade expansion, the Government will be in a position to permit a bit of freedom of the press. Just now, owing to the fact that much more freedom has been allowed in economic life, which gives the more left parties a basis of agitation, the political tyranny has increased in proportion. But I believe this to be only temporary. However, even when conditions improve, I do not believe the Russian Government will go so far as to permit freedom of the press, although political prisoners will probably be released. At least pressure must be applied to force a relaxation of despotism over means of political expression. Moreover, such pressure will strengthen the opposition in the Communist Party itself, which, weak at present, still holds out the only hope of a real party of the opposition being formed. No government willingly yields a position of such advantage to it as a complete control of all agitation. We saw that after the war in England, France, and America. Kamenev last June solemnly told me that as soon as the Polish war was over, freedom of speech and press would be reestablished. I only half believed him then. I cannot take the extreme position of most Communists, in this connection, that there never is any freedom of speech and the press anyway, even under bourgeois governments, and that the whole question is of no importance.

I know what I have written or may write will gain me the name of renegade. It is harder to criticize Russia now when she is getting to be respectable than at the time when she was still considered completely "red." I shall have the unenviable distinction of being considered an adherent of both sides for discreditable reasons. I have, in fact, had that distinction already. In Riga last year I was taken by the American Commissioner for a bolshevik agent after having just got out of the clutches of the Tcheka in Moscow, who had ordered my arrest for being a British agent. At that time I refrained completely from writing about Russia, because of the Polish war and the difficult situation. These reasons for silence no longer obtain.

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An Open Letter to the Governor of Arkansas[1]

Lexington, Virginia, May 25, 1921.

His Excellency, GOVERNOR THOMAS C. MCRAE,
Little Rock, Arkansas.

DEAR SIR: Not in the history of our Republic has a more tremendous responsibility before God and the civilized world devolved upon the shoulders of the chief executive of any State than has devolved upon yours *in re* the Negroes of Phillips County condemned for murder to death in the electric chair and so sentenced by the courts of your State. In the case of six of those condemned men the sentence of death has been sanctioned by you and you have appointed the day of their execution.

It is a deed to be contemplated with extreme horror. In the execution of those men a race is suffering crucifixion. I entreat you to take the matter into your private chamber and give it an hour's earnest consideration, as before the Eternal Judge.

Have those men been dealt with according to justice, according to the principles of civilized and humane governments?

An article of Magna Charta, the historical foundation of our rights and liberties, declares that "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or banished or in any way destroyed . . . except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay right or justice."

Article VII of our own Bill of Rights, placed by the founders of the Republic themselves in the Federal Constitution, assures to every accused person "trial by an impartial jury," "the right of witnesses in his behalf," and "the assistance of counsel for his defense." Another article of the same forbids "cruel and unusual punishments."

Can it be maintained that these men have been tried and sentenced according to the principles of these charters of our free government? I entreat your Excellency to review the entire case with the utmost candor and absolute courage.

Consider, first, the iniquities of the peonage system, which, as tenants and share-croppers, these men were accused of conspiring to end. Those iniquities are partly known to the world, and are indisputable. Exorbitant interest, to treble and quadruple the lawful rate, for money advanced; outrageous prices for supplies at the plantation commissary or store; arbitrary division and sale of the crops by the landlord; no statement of accounts, no settlement—is this not peonage? and was not this system prevalent in Phillips County? More than this. When the individual tenant, grown restive under such oppression, dared ask his landlord for a settlement or raise any question about his landlord's dealings with him, was he not treated as an "insolent and bad nigger," and beaten, driven out, or terrorized into silence? The inevitable recourse of tenants so enslaved and abused, if any recourse whatsoever should occur to them, was such banding together as they effected in the Progressive Farmers' and Householders' Union. And no crime was there in that. For that was a peaceable union, founded for legitimate purposes.

As for their instigating or beginning a riot, the evidence adduced in the case as tried before the Supreme Court of Arkansas abundantly and conclusively disproves that. It was not until they were threatened and molested that they armed themselves. That they should provide themselves with weapons and carry these to their meetings seems condemnatory. But consider the provocation. And were they assured of the protection of the law? Not even in their church. Misguided and reprehensible to the point of madness may have been their action in arming themselves, but it was not criminal.

Nor did they use those arms but in self-defense. It was not until that church at Hoop Spur, filled with men, women, and children, at night in lawful meeting, was fusilladed that any Negro fired a shot. Then in the days of "riot" following, were the Negroes of Phillips County not indiscriminately hunted, harried, and shot down like beasts of the jungle? Fifty or sixty Negroes, four or five white men—that was the ratio of killed. Was this a riot of the blacks or of the whites?

Consider, next, the cruelties to which the hundreds of Negroes, men and women, were subjected who were herded into stockades or crowded into lock-ups. The time will yet come when the world with full knowledge of this will be revolted by such Congo barbarity.

Then came the travesty of a trial in the circuit court at Helena. Ninety-two men, without legal counsel, without witnesses, without knowledge of court procedure and their rights, some of whom were whipped, tortured in electric chairs, and terrorized into pleading guilty to murder in the second degree, were sentenced to prison terms ranging from one year to life. Sixty-seven of those, I understand, are yet in prison serving the life sentence. Twelve men, likewise tortured, were sentenced to death, and six of these are to be executed June 10.

I submit to you the testimony of some of those sixty-seven convicts who were brought from their cells in the penitentiary to testify in the trial of the case before the Supreme Court of Arkansas. Sykes Fox thus testified:

> I pleaded guilty to second degree because they compelled me to do it. I didn't know any other way—plead guilty or go to the electric chair. . . . I testified the way I did because I was whipped up to it. I have the signs, the marks of it, right here. . . . They took me out of the jail and into a lower room in this house, . . . and whipped me with a strap, which must have had something on it; it burnt me every lick. He would say, "You know so and so," and I would say, "Yes, sir." . . . I don't know how many licks they hit me, no more than about 150. I had to lay on my stomach about 5 days.

John Martin thus testified:

> I was made to say what I did. I was whipped awful bad, and they told me if I didn't acknowledge that I had a gun there, they were going to put more on me. They had done whipped me so I could hardly sit up; I was raw. One of the straps they whipped me with had copper or brass on the end of it. . . . I have the marks across my back now. If they had whipped me again on those sore places I couldn't have stood it. They beat me up so and were beating other people that I had to say something or other to keep them from beating me to death. . . . I am 54 years old. I was never in any trouble before this trouble.

So runs the testimony of witness after witness—testimony I would accept as infallibly true, did my life depend upon it. Can this be called a trial in a court of justice? In any other country, as Turkey or Russia, we would give it another name.

Your Excellency, I make this appeal to you in the confidence that it will be considered as made in the spirit of respect and duty. I have no disposition to doubt your courage, your integrity, or your force of character. I seek but as a fellow-citizen to encourage you to a heroic duty. There will be two voices commanding you to contrary courses: one the voice of the tempter of all men to pursue the policy of compromise and submission to the ill-guided multitude. Pontius Pilate, delivering the innocent Man of Galilee to the mob for crucifixion and Barabbas the robber to freedom, is the type of the coward who inherits the contempt—and the pity—of mankind, by the side of the betrayer, Judas Iscariot.

Then there is "the still small voice," never to be silenced. It bids you stand for the eternal right against all consequence, stand as a champion of human nature, a vindicator of human dignity. Such is your sublime opportunity. The eyes of the world would turn upon you in admiration did you act with manifest justice, with heroic virtue in this case. I beseech you to heed the "still small voice."

You have appointed June the 10th as the date of execution

[1] The writer of this open letter to Governor McRae is professor of English in the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va.; author of "The Voice of the Negro," and other books; a Southerner by birth, tradition, and residence; secretary of the Virginia Society for the Study of Education; member of the Virginia State Inter-Racial Committee; Ph.D. Yale, 1906.

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for those six men. Until that day they have a respite to prepare for their appearing before the throne of the Judge of all the earth. The same respite have you: for you, too, though in the flesh, shall that day stand before the throne of Almighty God, to be judged. It is not mine to declare the oracles of God, but this is my profoundest conviction, that God is testing men in this life, and that upon you he has put this test. You might well deem yourself the most fortunate and honored of men. Heaven itself has appointed you for this redemptive act. To thrust it aside were to deny God—the refusal of an atheist.

Public officers, I know, are wont to be governed by public opinion. But the nobler sort change and create public opinion. Your opportunity knocks at your door. Reject it, and the brand is on your brow. Accept it, and instead of the brand it is the crown.

By birth and rearing I am a Missourian, born of Kentucky parents. Being of the same stock and traditions with the people of Arkansas, I have not the slightest feeling of hostility toward them, but, on the contrary, only a profound solicitude that they with you may rise in moral courage to meet this test and stand not in disgrace but in honor before the world. Just and humane dealing will accomplish, as terror and violence will not, the ends desired: a mutually profitable cooperation of the races, security and happiness for the white race, good-will and useful service from the colored race, with prosperity and advancement as its reward. But beyond these ends is the end above every other—justice for justice' sake.

I pray that every pulpit in Arkansas, of whatsoever creed, will in the Sundays to intervene before the date of this awful execution, preach not merely the gospel of mercy but the eternal law of righteousness with its sure concomitant of divine retribution as proclaimed by all the prophets of God and writ large in human history. The sin of silence could not be condoned in a preacher of the Gospel in Arkansas at this time.

I have written this as an open letter that it might be an appeal as well to the people of your State, to their Christian conscience, their justice-loving spirit, their humane instincts. Would that they might encourage you to rightful action by petitions without number, signed by every person in the State who revolts at legal murder.

In a book which your people revere it is written:

> Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous. That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

That command is older by thousands of years than Magna Charta and our Federal Constitution, and is still valid. Is it possible that, nineteen centuries after Calvary, a crime like that of Calvary is to be committed in a land where the Bible is an open and revered book, and the people are of the stock that has led the world in civilization? Almighty God forbid!

If there is any misstatement or misrepresentation in this letter I shall gladly welcome correction as vindicating so far the imperiled honor of a State.

Yours respectfully,

ROBERT T. KERLIN.

SUMMER BOOK SUPPLEMENT

The Summer Book Supplement of *The Nation* will be published with next week's issue.

In the Driftway

LOVE laughs not only at locksmiths but also at telephone subscribers on party lines who want to report fires, according to experience in the State of Washington. The Seattle *Union Record* recounts that a man, having discovered the house next door to him to be in flames, picked up his telephone to call for assistance. He discovered that another man was carrying on a tender conversation with a girl and was deaf to all entreaties to desist for a second in order to give the fire call the right of way. Thereupon the first man resorted to sabotage and began to jiggle the hook of the receiver. The other man merely retorted: "That'll do you no good. I'll stay here just as long as you do." Meanwhile, the fire also refused to delay what it had begun, and the house burned to the ground. As a neighbor this new species of "telephone hog" would be undesirable, but one can hardly deny to him the qualities of a valiant suitor.

* * * * *

A JAPANESE philosopher and tea-worshiper declares that the various methods of preparing tea which have had their vogue in various ages are as characteristic of their periods as are the favorite drinks of the various countries of Europe. The Drifter admits to little subtlety in the matter of tea—there are times when he even likes it strong, with milk, and three lumps, which his aesthetic friends tell him is intolerable—but he can understand something of the national character of drinks. English ale, Scotch whiskey, German beer, French wine—each of them conveys something of the national stamp. In a really warm and tempered mood the Drifter could even discourse at length upon the personal and geographical character of a good Bordeaux, say a Graves, and a good Burgundy, say a 1906 Pommard; and if anyone will offer him an opportunity, he would be glad to make a direct demonstration with, say, a topographical map of France and, say, a bottle of Pommard and a half-bottle of Graves. (The Drifter does not believe in carrying matters to extremes.) But what of a country where the favorite national drink is soda water? Cannot some literary critic win fame by an article pointing out the relation between the abnormal amount of sunlight in New York City, the range of temperature in southern Illinois, the national passion for a sticky, sugary, artificially bubbly drink, and the equally national passion for artificial sentiment and the happy ending in so-called literature?

* * * * *

SYMPATHY for and proper care of our domestic animals is an excellent thing, but it hardly seems as if it should transcend our regard for human welfare. British humane societies, ignoring the possible fate of miners' families if forced to live upon lower wages, have raised a great protest in regard to the pit ponies left behind when the workers quit the mines. The men, of course, have had to shoulder the blame. But the Labor News Service points out that it was the business of the owners to remove the ponies; that of 66,000 ponies employed in British mines in 1919 over 2,700 died from accident or disease, about 2,800 had to be killed for similar causes, while 8,000 others were reported to have been injured and 200 ill treated. Rather an unpleasant arraignment of the mine owners. Finally, it appears that the ponies endangered by the miners' recent walk-out were *exactly two!*

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Concerning the Race Commission

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with interest and, for the most part, with approval your editorial in the current issue of *The Nation* entitled A Race Commission—A Constructive Plan. I find myself in entire agreement with you in thinking the President's suggestions relative to the creation of a national Race Commission both constructive and timely, although there will be some in the Southern States who will oppose the work of the proposed commission as being unwarranted Federal interference in the affairs of the States. On the whole, however, such a scheme would meet with entire approval in the South, as it is my observation that the majority of the Southern people are keenly desirous of effecting better race relationships. They feel very poignant humiliation when anything like the burning of Henry Lowry occurs, and great indignation at every injustice done the Negro.

You are probably aware that such a plan as the President suggests and you outline has been in operation in the various Southern States for several years. Each of the Southern States in the black belt has its inter-racial committee, and there are sub-committees in practically all of the counties of the States. There are some 700 of such inter-racial committees now functioning in the various counties and cities of the South, and they have been a most potent influence in preventing riots and lynchings and in promoting amicable race relations. I feel, therefore, that the creation of a national Race Commission would be merely widening the scope and extending the usefulness of the inter-racial movement, as it is already launched in the South, and raising its work to a place of national importance. I commend your thoughtful plan of organization for the proposed commission, although I feel that the organizer of the inter-racial movement in the South ought to have a place on the personnel of the commission. I suggest, therefore, the addition of Dr. W. D. Weatherford's name to the personnel of the proposed Southern representatives, or the substitution of his name for some other name on the list.

Dr. Weatherford is a man of great mind and great heart. He has given the larger part of his life to a study of the various phases of the race problem, and is a fearless and outstanding exponent of the newer gospel of cooperation between the races. Indeed his splendid qualities as a leader and his thorough knowledge of Negro life in the South, together with the universal respect in which he is held by both blacks and whites, would seem to designate him as the logical man for the chairmanship of the proposed new commission, which after all is new only in the enlarged sphere and scope of its activities.

WILLIAM GARNER BURGIN
Mississippi State College for Women

Columbus, Mississippi, April 29

The Shurilla Case

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have a copy of *The Nation* under date of May 25, 1921, marked, and on page 729 I see a reference to the case of one John C. Shurilla and you quote a letter and make certain comments thereon.

No such letter was sent out from the Navy Department, much less signed by me. You state "or by a Navy Department in which one of its admirals gaily condones murder."

If you are trying to publish the truth it seems to me that good policy would have dictated an investigation before making a publication. I have no private responsibilities as far as official letters are concerned. On request for information by Mr. Shurilla as to the amount of help he gave and a statement as to his citizenship, he was informed that his suggestions proved of no value and in his original letter he stated that he was an American citizen.

Since you have given the matter so much publicity I think as a matter of justice you should correct the impression that you have given.

Washington, May 23 W. STROTHER SMITH,
Rear Admiral U. S. N.

[Our source of information was a news item in the New York *Times* for May 11 which we have not seen corrected by the Navy Department. It was headed "Navy Aids Murderer" and ran as follows:

Special to the New York Times

UNIONTOWN, PA., May 10.—An electrical device which he claims he invented in 1917 and gave to the United States Navy may be the means of saving the life of John C. Shurilla of Pittsburgh, who recently was convicted of murder in the first degree for the death of John Sherga, who was shot in the back and robbed several months ago.

Shurilla received a letter from Rear Admiral W. S. Brothers [*sic*] Smith today saying in part:

"We are very sorry to hear that you are in serious trouble, but we have taken up your case with the Naval Consulting Board of the United States. We will assist you all we can on account of your assistance during the war. You are a true American citizen."

In April, 1917, Shurilla wrote to the president of the Naval Consulting Board offering an electrical device which he claimed would detect submarines. He says he received a letter stating that the device was a success and had helped the navy check German submarine activities. Shurilla had been arrested in Pittsburgh on suspicion of being a German sympathizer.

—EDITOR THE NATION.]

Post-Intelligence

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Judge William D. Askren of Tacoma, whose recent remarks concerning the permanent army cantonment of Camp Lewis were reported in the Tacoma *Ledger* and quoted in a letter to *The Nation*, is not alone in questioning whether that establishment is to be an asset or a "curse" to neighboring communities. Now comes the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* with the following editorial statement in its May 16 issue:

> What's getting into the men of our army to bring forth such evil deeds as have lately been done? The *Post-Intelligencer* would not for a moment intimate that there is anything seriously wrong with the establishment and the personnel as a whole; but certain recent manifestations—disquieting, to put it at the mildest—indicate a breakdown of what we have been taught to call the morale. Drunken soldiers are seen on the streets of our cities much more frequently than they were a while ago. The terrible mistreatment of a nurse by enlisted men at Camp Lewis; the murder of a Tacoma taxicab driver by a uniformed quintet—these are bad signs, the symptoms of a condition of things that cannot be too soon subjected to correction. Our soldiers must not be permitted to blot in peace time the splendid record made by the army in war.

Seattle, May 20 STUART A. RICE

Back to American Again

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Rev. Dr. Steven T. Byington's defense of the *one-he* compound pronoun, as used by Dr. Harding, is eloquent, but I am forced to report that it does not convince me. If Dr. Harding proposes to write English, then he should use *one-one*, as all the standard texts of that language counsel. If, on the contrary, he is trying to write American, then let him employ the genuine American form, which is *one-their(n)*, as in "*One* oughtn't never take nothing that ain't *theirn*." *One-he* is neither English nor American; it is, philologically, simply an illicit loan-form taken into Moose from Onebuilding-universityprofessorese.

Baltimore, Md., May 30 H. L. MENCKEN

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Books

Shaw Among the Mystics

Back to Methuselah. A Metabiological Pentateuch. By Bernard Shaw. Brentano's.

BERNARD SHAW is sixty-five and in despair. The mad peace finished what the mad war had begun. We still live in a state of "boyish, cinema-fed romanticism"; we are governed by grown-up children and defectives. Strongly and naturally the doubt arises "whether the human animal, as he exists at present, is capable of solving the social problems raised by his own aggregation." So the human animal must be changed; we must transform the biological process from a process to a weapon and a tool. We must harness the Life Force, the *élan vital,* to our chariots and drive into a city of God which we ourselves have built. It is sheer mysticism; and that Shaw, like the aged Comte, has become a mystic is something like a tragic disaster. He accepts the full position of the mystic and glories in it. "When a man tells you that you are a product of Circumstantial Selection solely, you cannot finally disprove it. You can only tell him out of the depth of your inner consciousness that he is a fool and a liar." Alas, that sort of inner consciousness has borne witness to a flat earth and a wheeling sun, to virgin births and to transubstantiation, to the special creation of species, to the righteousness of human slavery and war and persecution. It is our old friend faith, the evidence of things unseen. It is beautiful and pathetic. But it has been the source of untold errors and miseries when not strictly limited to the forever unseeable. If the Neo-Darwinians are right, Shaw exclaims, "only fools and rascals could bear to live." That is what the bishops told Huxley; it is the cry of every timid sentimentalist whose world will not conform to his vision of what it should be. And this from Bernard Shaw!

He builds his mystical structure upon a basis of apparently scientific reasoning. According to the modern followers of Lamarck, "organisms changed because they wanted to," and the chief factor in the transmutation of species was use and disuse. According to the followers of Darwin, the same process is accounted for by natural selection, that is, by the propagation of a species through those individuals which are best adapted to survive in a given environment. Shaw identifies the use and disuse of the Neo-Lamarckians with Schopenhauer's Will, with his own Life Force, with Bergson's *élan vital,* with the Holy Ghost. He plays ducks and drakes with the distinction between inherited and acquired biological characters and declares that creative evolution, "the genuinely scientific religion," means literally that we can shape the evolutionary process to our liking as we go along. The human animal will change when it wills to change.

How should it will to change? First in the direction of longevity. We die before experience has ripened into wisdom. We do not attain vision and so muddle intolerably the affairs of the world. If we lived three hundred years we would, at least, transcend the lower delusions of mortality. What these delusions include no close student of Shaw can doubt. That magnificent intellect has always been a little disembodied. His asceticism is icy and his fastidiousness not quite human. He regards sex as a nuisance and art as a bauble. He is offended not only by disorder and dirt; he is offended by the process of procreation and metabolism. In a word, he hates the body. If he is something of a superman in clarity and fire of mental vision, he is also a super-Puritan in his anxiety to burn away the world and the flesh in the flames of that visionary fire. The three-hundred-year-old sages are not his goal. They are still born of woman and nourished by the fruits of the earth. Nor do the eerie, sleepless Ancients of the three-hundredth century satisfy him except through their ultimate aspirations. "But the day will come when there will be no people, only thought." On that day the goal will be reached—"the goal of redemption from the flesh to the vortex freed from matter, to the whirlpool in pure intelligence." There is no variableness nor shadow of turning in Bernard Shaw. Relentlessly he follows the logic of his own nature. It takes him to the "vast edges drear and naked shingles of the world." But he does not stop. He has no eyes for the green earth or its poor, passionate, struggling inhabitants. He whirs his iron wings and sets out on his lonely quest into the intense inane.

The five dramatic books of the revelation of the new vitalist religion are less brilliant than Shaw's earlier works, less humanly sagacious in detail, and, despite several bravura passages, less eloquent. But they have all his old energy and rapidity of intellectual movement and the last two, "The Tragedy of an Elderly Gentleman" and "As Far As Thought Can Reach," are matchless exercises of a cold imaginative vigor building its structures out into the void. Yet so divorced from essential human feeling are these stupendous parables and legends that Shaw never suspects, for instance, the true character of his Ancients. He means them to inspire awe; they arouse pity and disgust like the Struldbrugs of Swift. Did he, by any chance, remember his great predecessor and draw the parallel? Swift, having castigated the follies and the crimes of mankind, holds up as a saving ideal the simplest goodness, gentleness, and innocence of soul. Shaw, suaver in gesture but in reality more terrible, finds no hope in any quality of human nature. It must be transcended; it must be obliterated; it must be remembered with loathing and contempt. Man must return "to the whirlpool in pure force" whence the world arose. Form itself has become an ache to Shaw. He thirsts for nothingness. He destroys the cosmos not like Faust with an imprecation, but with an argument. In no sense will mankind take his bleak parable to heart. It is the monument of a great despair. But men do not despair. They are sustained by the very things that Shaw holds to be negligible if not noxious—by love and art, food and wine, and even by a little warmth when, after darkness, the goodly sun returns.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

The Treaty and the Truth

The Truth About the Treaty. By André Tardieu. Foreword by Edward M. House. Introduction by Georges Clemenceau. The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

M. TARDIEU was a member at one time or another of no less than twelve important committees of the Peace Conference. The list, which for some unexplained reason is omitted from the volume before us, includes those on Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar, the left bank of the Rhine, Belgium and Luxembourg, Denmark, the independence of German Austria, Rumania, Jugo-slavia, revision of territorial clauses of the treaty, the question of war criminals, guaranties for the execution of the treaty provisions, and replies to the German counter-propositions. During the war he had served for a while as a captain in the French army, and subsequently headed the French High Commission in this country. Since the Conference he has been a recognized leader in the Chamber of Deputies of the thick and thin defenders of the treaty, and an outspoken critic of every proposal which seemed to him and his followers to imply any relaxation of the full rigors of the Paris agreement. There can be no question but that he knows as well as any man living, with the possible exception of Captain Mantoux, the official interpreter for the immortal Five, Four, and Three, how and why the Treaty of Versailles was framed as it was; and he has written his book in order that the truth may be known and his own important work as a peace-maker duly recorded.

And what is "the truth about the treaty" which the devoted friend and confidant of Clemenceau has to tell? The thesis is simple, clear, and precise. The war was an unprovoked act of aggression on the part of Germany, having neither cause nor aim save in the domineering militarism of the German Government and the German people which sought the annihi-

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lation of France and the destruction of liberty in Europe and throughout the world. France, as the bulwark of democracy and enlightenment, saw the significance of the struggle from the beginning and by its courage and steadfastness saved the world from barbarism, albeit in the process of salvation it received timely aid from Great Britain and the United States. As France alone realized fully what the German outbreak meant, so France alone, guided by the genius and patriotism of its incomparable leader, Clemenceau, knew what the peace terms must be. The German Empire was not, indeed, to be broken up, but its territory was to be reduced, its political and military power destroyed, its economic menace to France removed, and its crushed people condemned to pay in full for the injury the war had done. Moreover, France was to be given unquestionable guaranties for the future; and since no word of a German was to be trusted, France must also be left in a position where what was allotted could at any time be taken if German promises failed. That the French demands at times seemed to Great Britain and the United States exorbitant and French fears too great, only showed how far those Governments and their representatives at Paris were from appreciating, at least until M. Tardieu and his associates had informed and persuaded them, the deadly peril in which victorious France stood, the extent of its losses, and its unique importance for the free Europe of the future. Fortunately, that which Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson perceived but dimly or assented to only after long argument, Clemenceau, with M. Tardieu at his elbow, saw with perfect clearness from the beginning, and his stout insistence and faultless serenity brought to a triumphant close a great and glorious world settlement. Vive Clemenceau! Vive Tardieu! Vive the United States and Great Britain also, in spite of their inherent shortcomings, if only they will realize how wisely their less gifted spokesmen were led!

This is M. Tardieu's thesis. It is merely the old story, set forth already in substance times without number by politicians of the Clemenceau and Poincaré school, embodied in a literature which already makes a small library, and used as a political club with which to threaten or terrorize everybody in France who, whether in public or in private, talks of liberalism or conciliation. It is the special pleading of an advocate to whom Germany is still the arch-enemy of human freedom and human rights, and France the stricken and imperiled embodiment of the highest civilization. One searches these nearly five hundred pages in vain for proof that what M. Tardieu offers as "the truth" is to him only part of the story; that there are deeper causes of the war which must now be taken account of but which did not appear clearly at the moment; that the Treaty of Versailles embodies irrational and unjust provisions whose hateful effects, if not tempered by a wisdom and a moderation to which Clemenceau and his kind were strangers, will almost certainly provoke another war; or that harsh and grasping penalties and unblushing vengeance afford small guaranty of peace. The tone and manner are those of the conqueror who sees in victory the irrefutable approval of divine right.

Too many writers have gleaned in the same field to make it possible for M. Tardieu, even with his exceptional knowledge, to present much that is both new and weighty. The principal substantive contribution of his book consists in reports of conversations in which Clemenceau took part and of discussions over crucial provisions of the treaty in the closed sessions of the Five or the Four, together with the texts of some important documents which have not hitherto been made public. Anyone who wishes to know in detail the origin of many of the treaty provisions will do well to consult M. Tardieu's pages, just as anyone who wants to know how official France understands the treaty will be enlightened by his opinions and conclusions. One gathers the impression, clearly the one which M. Tardieu wishes to convey, that the proceedings of the Supreme Council revolved chiefly about the proposals submitted by France, and that Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson usually first opposed or doubted and then yielded. There is honorable mention of the two or three leading members of the Conference, especially Colonel House and Professor Haskins, who agreed with M. Tardieu, but the others receive scanty notice, while for the British and American experts in general the author seems to have had no great respect. Mr. Keynes, of course, is abused roundly, notwithstanding that M. Tardieu himself disclaims any pretensions to being an economist.

Aside from these matters, we learn here for the first time of the full extent of M. Tardieu's personal activities. The tasks which were devolved upon him by his chief were great and varied. In addition to attendance upon innumerable committees, commissions, and private conferences, he prepared the plan of procedure which the French delegation submitted to the Conference in January, 1919, but which failed of adoption; an elaborate memorandum on the Rhine boundary and inter-Allied occupation of the Rhine bridges; the French memorandum on the Saar basin, now first published; a note to Colonel House, also hitherto unpublished, on the relation of the League to the disarmament of Germany; the statement of March 31 in which Clemenceau opposed in detail the principles of peace which Mr. Lloyd George had been urging; besides numerous lesser papers. Whatever one may think of M. Tardieu's methods or ideals, his labors were enormous. It is not clear that he had much to do with the question of reparations, but his very full discussion of the subject shows him to have been, as usual, in sympathy with the extreme French claims.

Aside from its value for the student of history and politics, M. Tardieu's book has an interest for the bibliographer. The French edition bears the title "La Paix." A comparison of the French text and the English translation—the latter by an unnamed hand—shows almost innumerable variations. Passages in the French text, varying from single sentences to paragraphs, are omitted in the English version, at the same time that numerous passages are inserted in the English text which are not in the French original. Chapter XII of the French edition, on the results of the peace, is omitted altogether, as is also Chapter XIII, save that some passages from the latter chapter are reproduced in the new Chapters XIII and XIV, on the enforcement of the peace and the relations between France, Great Britain, and the United States, which appear in the English version. In place of the French Chapter XII we have a new chapter on reconstruction and the future of France. Many of the footnotes which are found in the Paris edition are lacking in the American one. No reason for these variations is apparent so far as the general subject matter of the work is concerned, and the English work does not in fact profess to be a translation from a French original. "The truth about the treaty," in other words, is presented in two forms, one for the French public, the other for Englishmen and Americans. The student, accordingly, must use both texts. The translation of so much of the material as is common to both works takes many liberties with the French text and is not always accurate, but on the whole is at least as readable as the original. The lack of an index to either text is regrettable.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Shoes and Ships and Sealing-Wax

The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, with the assistance of J. A. Selbie and L. H. Gray. Volume XI. Sacrifice–Sudra. Charles Scribner's Sons.

WHEN the Walrus discovered that "the time had come to talk of many things, of shoes and ships and sealing-wax," he might have found material for the discussion in the volume under review: full articles on the religious and ethical aspects of the first two subjects and at least a cross reference on the third. Indeed, the miscellaneous nature of the selection of topics by the editors is hardly less than was that in the list given by the Walrus. Dr. Hastings's interests are wider-ranging than those even of Terence: nothing human is alien to him,

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and nothing inhuman or superhuman either. Would you know what heathen tribes thought of Sin, of Salvation, of Sacrifice, of Secret Societies, of Soteriology, of the Soul, of Sex, and of Spirits, you can gratify your curiosity here. There is an elaborate article on Saliva, to judge by which, one would conclude that all peoples of the earth resembled the kings and nobles of chivalry described by Huckleberry Finn as "spending their whole time just lazing around, hunting, and hawking, and spitting." Spittle, it seems, still used in Roman Catholic baptism, has had an important role in religious rites; it has been regarded not only as a sign of contempt and hatred but as a form of courteous salutation, as a means of "lustration of children" (not yet entirely abandoned), as the seal of a contract, as a bond of union, as a charm, as a horror, as a cause of conception, and as a part of personality. Many languages have the counterpart of the homely phrase, "that child is the spittin' image of his father," words which refer not to the valiant efforts of the puking infant to emulate the expectorational exploits of his sire, but to the fact that he is, as the French put it, "son père tout craché."

Naturally a great many odd cults and creeds come in for treatment: Satanism, for example, which flourished in the last two decades of the nineteenth century; Sects heathen and Christian, Samaritans, Serpent-worshipers, Stoics, and numerous others. Under the heading "Saints, Latter Day," Woodbridge Riley exposes the Mormons with his usual combination of acumen and wit. He shows up not only the sources of their sacred books and peculiar institutions, such as baptism for the dead and that "celestial marriage" which turned out to be terrestrial polygamy, but also the persecution that the early founders of the church underwent. When some of the elders forged notes for the Safety Society Anti-Banking Co. they were set upon by "a banditti of blacklegs, bigots, and cut-throats," and forced to move. Mr. Riley's rationalism and irony are so perfectly crushing that it is with much disappointment that one finds, in this volume, no article by him on "Science, Christian." Now that his treatment of that subject in the "Cambridge History of American Literature" has been not only put on the new Protestant Index Expurgatorius but extirpated root and branch, it is to be feared that we shall never get a truly impartial estimate of Mrs. Eddy and her followers again.

Excellent articles treat various social and intellectual phenomena, such as Socialism, Secularism, Science, Scotch Philosophy, Slavery, Sociology, Scholasticism, and Space. The limits imposed on Scotch Philosophy are disappointing, for the subject does not include Hume, but merely the recent Reid-Hamilton school. On the other hand J. Arthur Thomson's introduction to Science is excellent. Typically scientific knowledge he defines as that verifiable by competent inquirers. It is therefore a social phenomenon. It must be stripped of all emotional halo, and, "moving asymptotically toward adequate accuracy," must undertake to answer the question how, rather that the problem why, relegated to metaphysics. Its method is to collect and register data, bring them into useful form statistically or graphically, and then generalize them. Sciences are classified into two grand divisions, the abstract, formal, or methodological, including mathematics, logic, and "perhaps a branch of metaphysics as a criticism of categories," and the concrete, descriptive, and experiential, including five branches, physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, and sociology. The most impressive fact about science Mr. Thomson finds to be that it is possible at all; that nature should be amenable to thought on so grand a scale. Empiric as he is, the author hereupon explains this possibility by a fine bit of epistemology: our scientific attainments are due, he thinks, to a long racial experience, extending far beyond the human period, and gradually fitting our minds to cope with the facts of the world around us.

No notice of this learned work would be complete without a brief mention of the many admirable biographies included, the most important being those of Simon Magus, Savonarola, Schleiermacher, Schopenhauer, Sidgwick, Socrates, Herbert Spencer, and Spinoza. The value of the vignettes differs considerably, and usually in proportion to the amount of sympathy displayed by the writer for his subject. Thus, Schleiermacher, "the father of modern theology," is most favorably portrayed, whereas Schopenhauer and Spencer are exhibited in a dry, hard light. The comparison of Schopenhauer to Bergson is, however, interesting, and the similarity of their conceptions of will as the fundamental reality is undoubted. Nevertheless, the comparison cannot be drawn too far; the German's "world as will" was but an expression of appetite, probably Freud would tell us of sexual appetite. Bergson's *élan* on the other hand is motived rather by an anti-rationalism, a desire to do full justice to human freedom and to the immediate data of consciousness over against the apparent deductions of a materialistic reason. The most valuable biography in this volume is on that most attractive subject, Spinoza. The great beauty of his life and character, as well as of his philosophical ideas, is clearly set forth. Indeed, save in some parts of the Bible, the Jewish race has produced nothing of equal sublimity to the philosophy of this "God-intoxicated" man, who learned to view all things "under the form of eternity." In contemplation of this universe he finally attained what he aimed at from the beginning, "the enjoyment of supreme, continuous, and permanent happiness."

PRESERVED SMITH.

His Last Attempt

The Coming of Gabrielle. By George Moore. Boni and Liveright.

"ONE must write in the idiom of one's own time, however indifferent the idiom is. My comedy is no innovation, and I do not intend to write another, for my thirst for the stage has been slaked in having written just once a comedy that pleased myself." Thus ends Mr. Moore's long preface to his little play, an unexpected close (such as one might expect from Mr. Moore), for the preface is a protest against the current "idiom," the conventional abhorrence of asides, soliloquies, and long speeches. Very properly he is impatient of these restraints, but, as he admits, he has made no effort to shake them off. Though the dialogue is a good example of the naturalistic sort of "patter" which Mr. Moore praised in "Avowals," there is little wit in it; and the plot, which centers in the old situation of "mistaken identity," or in this case what is mistaken for mistaken identity, is the merest commonplace. Lewis Davenant, an illustrious man of letters, who has promised to go to Vienna to be present at the "first night" of one of his plays, at the last moment sends in his place his secretary, Sebastian Dayne, who assumes the name of Davenant. In Vienna he meets the Countess von Hoenstadt, Gabrielle, a charming young woman who has written many admiring letters to Davenant and who promptly and shrewdly senses the deception, knows that Dayne cannot be Davenant, and falls in love with Dayne. They are married and return to England to perpetrate a hoax upon the "vieux farceur" who arranged the deception. Dayne writes to Davenant in advance telling him of the success of their ruse and asking him to play the part of secretary on their arrival. Thus there arises a trite complication such as has been enacted a hundred times on the comic stage. In the end Gabrielle discovers the real worth of the "vieux farceur" and Davenant plays the part of reconciler to clear up a slight cloud of misunderstanding that for a moment had threatened the happiness of the young married couple, who are left happily together as the curtain falls.

There is nothing very clever in all this. The characterization, despite the presence of a sailor-man such as has trod the boards since the days of George Farquhar, is better than the plot; the Countess is a decidedly unconventional but very charming person. The most interesting part of the piece, how-

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ever, is the constant presence of autobiographical suggestions. Those who like to trace out such connections may find links between certain little episodes in the play and certain others in Mr. Moore's "Memoirs of My Dead Life." And there is no attempt to conceal the fact that Davenant, the great author, is a "portrait of the artist." Everybody knows how Mr. Moore enjoys the annoyance of being pursued by a crowd of admirers such as follows after Lewis Davenant. On the whole the insignificant little play is quite unworthy of Mr. Moore's great renown. The publishers have, as usual, produced a book of exceptionally delightful appearance; unfortunately, as in the case of their former privately printed editions of books by Mr. Moore, that appearance is to some extent marred by quite avoidable misprints.

A Man of Cornish Granite

Life of Lord Courtney. By G. P. Gooch. London: Macmillan & Co.

FOR all his shrewd, clever brain, and the general sanity of his ideas, Leonard Courtney's right to be remembered rests preeminently on his character; and his moral stature was such that his life may well continue to serve as an inspiration and example of high-minded public service, no matter how completely times and ideas may change. "His self-imposed task," writes Mr. Gooch, "was to challenge prejudice, to test tradition, to ventilate ideas, and above all to hold aloft the moral ideal in moments of national passion and national temptation. It was an onerous and lofty mission; and it is the measure of his greatness that it was not unworthily fulfilled."

A marked propensity for mathematics obtained Courtney his college education, and he subsequently ranked as one of the foremost political economists of his time. Ten years' service on the *Times* under Delane—throughout which he was able to preserve his independence of judgment and exercise considerable influence through his leaders—served to widen his experience and prepared the way for his political career. The cause with which his name is most closely bound up is, of course, that of Proportional Representation, for the introduction of which he labored unceasingly and by which he hoped to democratize the British Constitution, seeing in it the only fair and equitable basis of political government. "If," he wrote, "we make the governing assembly a mirror of the life of the people, the leaven of change will work gradually in the one as in the other." Today it seems as if such Philosophic Radicals as Courtney and Fawcett would have been safe guides to whom to intrust the economic welfare of a country, and parliamentary rule might not have reached its present discredited position had their evolutionary reforms been tried.

Courtney seems to have been generally regarded as John Stuart Mill's successor as the conscience of the House of Commons, an unpopular distinction, and his scrupulous fairness in the difficult post of Chairman of Committees alienated sympathy from him still further. When to this are added his unpopular stand on the Boer war, and his efforts for an early and a just peace in the present one, his whole political life is seen as an uphill fight, a steady fight against "woolly-mindedness and ill-digested ideas," from which, in the words of Mr. Basil Williams, "he believed most of the misery and evils of the world originated." For all this, it is seldom that a statesman has been paid finer tributes from men of all parties and all shades of opinion. "He was one of the great figures of our time," wrote Lord Bryce, "in his absolute independence of mind, and his absolute courage in thought and action. No one could know him without admiring his public spirit, his constancy to his principles, his loyal attachment to his friends and to the good causes he had espoused—never thinking of himself but only of the duty he owed to truth and the interests of humanity."

Although Courtney's mind ran in many ways on lines in advance of his times, on a few issues he was disappointingly conservative, as, for instance, in his opposition to Gladstone's Home Rule bill for Ireland, where he favored instead drastic revision of the land laws. He seems to have feared that even so limited a measure of freedom for Ireland at that time might have disaffected India before the latter country was ripe for self-government; for he held the old idea of the responsibility of Empire, of the duty of the strong toward the weak, and of the necessity of spreading enlightenment. Coincidently, few men have dealt more sledge-hammer blows at the intoxicating policies of domination and aggrandizement which have brought the world to such misery and ruin. Imperialism and protection he considered to be sprung from the same poisoned root, and he was continually warning both Europe and America against their increasing and corrosive influence, which he felt could only be combated "by bringing home to individuals a sense of the iniquity of war, by creating in them something like a passion for the pacific settlement of disputes and a dwelling together in brotherhood of the nations of the world."

Above all things Courtney was an individualist. "He scornfully repudiated the doctrine that the state could make men happy and prosperous, preferring to emphasize the danger to personal independence and responsibility from its well-meant attentions. . . . If his political message was the gospel of independence, his economic message was the gospel of self-help." He feared the influence of socialism as possibly enervating, for it was "his life-long conviction that it was the duty of citizens of a self-governing community to think for themselves." At the same time he was fully alive to the necessity and power of voluntary association. To him it seemed as if his immediate predecessors had possessed a sounder morality, a more courageous acceptance of the rigors of life, and a deeper sense of responsibility than the men of his day. He bears perhaps somewhat the same relation to ours, with the added virtue of a mind that was quick to recognize and welcome beneficent changes and that to the end was never static.

Courtney had a fault common to humane men, that of overestimating the good intentions of others. Though he was lacking neither in oratory nor persuasiveness, the general public, and even many of his friends, remained singularly cold to the causes he had so much at heart. It is, after all, only very rarely that individuals raise the general level of thought in their lifetime, however they may contribute to subsequent progress, and Courtney's principal work lay along the most unpopular of roads, that of championing the rights of dissentient minorities.

B. U. BURKE

A New View of Russia

The Spirit of Russia. By Thomas G. Masaryk. Translated from the German Original by Eden and Cedar Paul. London: George Allen and Unwin. New York: The Macmillan Company. 2 vols.

BORN in Moravia, without any advantages of wealth or social connection, Thomas G. Masaryk became at the age of twenty-nine a lecturer on philosophy at the University of Vienna; and since about 1882, when he was appointed professor of philosophy in the newly founded University of Prague, he has been the leading figure in the political life and philosophic thought of Bohemia. Early in the war his ardent nationalism exposed him to the suspicions of the Austrian Government, which meant to put him to death; he was forced to escape from the country to England and America. When the collapse of Austria brought about the emancipation of Bohemia, the Czech people called him to the presidency of their new republic. His book upon Russia was first published in 1913 after he had been traveling in that country and studying its people. Coming from so distinguished a scholar and thinker, it has an exceptional interest, and all the more so because the author is himself of Slavonic stock.

"The Spirit of Russia" was originally projected as an exami-

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nation and appreciation of Dostoevski in order by a description of his manner of thinking and writing "to furnish an understanding of Russia from the inside through the instrumentality of Russian literature." But it finally assumed the form of something approaching "an account of the philosophy of history and the philosophy of religion of Dostoevski's predecessors and successors, and is compiled in such fashion as to present a history of the evolution of their ideas." The author's observations and reflections are woven into his analysis of the Russian writers whom he deals with, and in this way he gives us his version of the Russian mind in its progress during the last two or three generations.

The book begins with a sketch of Russian history, not a continuous narrative but a series of observations on the critical periods in the historical development of the country. This object, as President Masaryk tells us, is to depict and explain the singular mixture of Old Russia with New Russia, the old not superseded and rendered obsolete by the new, as in Western and Southern European countries, but continuing to exist, intermingled with the new.

In this historical sketch he rightly dwells on the enormous influence upon Russian development exerted by Peter the Great. The old Muscovite kingdom was, in President Masaryk's view, a sort of theocracy, or what he calls a "Caesaro-Papism," imitating, or trying to reproduce, the Eastern Roman Empire at Constantinople whence Russia had drawn its religion in uniting the spiritual and secular powers. Peter abolished the Patriarchate and secularized everything as much as he could venture to do. The civilizing and conquering work of Peter was carried on by Catherine the Second, as an unscrupulous despot who was, however, devoted to enlightened and even to humanitarian ideals. After her came a strong reaction against everything French, especially against the principles of the French Revolution. Alexander I was a well-meaning man who returned to religion through a sort of mysticism. Nicholas I carried reaction still further, impressing on it the old theocratic character which Catherine had done her best to destroy. A tyrant in his principles, he was harsh and unrelenting in his application of them. Russia had now come into contact with European thought, and nearly all that was intellectually alive and energetic in the country was forced into opposition. This was the beginning of Russian literature and Russian philosophy as we know it. At this moment, too, is first seen the influence of German philosophy and literature—especially of Hegel and his followers. Here also begin the teachings of French socialism, presently followed by the German socialism of Karl Marx and his disciples. All the potent influences of the new ideas, long before the Revolution of 1917, encouraged and inspired the systematic revolutionary campaign against the autocracy and against the Orthodox Church as its subject ally. Through the alternations of a movement toward liberalism under the kindly minded Alexander II and a movement into harsh repression under his son Alexander III, we are brought down to the weak and wavering Nicholas II and the two Dumas. As the book was finished in 1913 it brings the account no further.

In the middle of the first volume President Masaryk turns from the history of events to the history of speculative thought as it appears in a succession of eminent and influential writers, not philosophers only but also publicists like Herzen and novelists like Turgenev, in whom he sees one of the best interpreters of the spirit of Russia. It is that spirit which will most interest the reader who has been watching the phases of the crisis through which the Russian nation has been passing. Russia is a unique instance in history of a people, a gifted people, as its literature proves, who, coming late in the circle of civilization, found three other peoples, the French, the German, and the English, far ahead of them in learning, in philosophy, in art, and in physical science, and as well as in political development. The influence of Germany was strongest in metaphysics and in learning, that of France strongest in literature and art, that of England in political and economic thought. The Russian mind, according to President Masaryk, had not yet had time to assimilate these influences and create a type of its own, but it was beginning to do so, conscious of its own vitality, when the storm of revolution burst upon it. It is an interesting feature that, being politically by far the most backward among the civilized nations, Russia should have been the first in which the new doctrines of communism could find a field in which to be proclaimed.

One of the merits of President Masaryk's book is that it brings together into one view all the intellectual and political forces that were at work in Russia up to 1913. To complete the description, there is now needed an account of how the press then existing worked, or failed to work, during the terrible years that have passed since then. One of the forces which was supposed by Western observers to be most powerful seems to have counted for little—the devotion not merely of the peasants but of the bulk of the bourgeois class to the Orthodox Church. This was a feature which struck persons who traveled through Russia as late as 1913. Yet neither the bourgeois nor the peasants seem to have been moved by it to defend the Czardom which then seemed so closely associated with the church. Perhaps an explanation may be found in the "Caesaro-Papism" of the Czarist regime. It may have so completely destroyed the independent spirit of the church and the clergy that neither the bishops and priests nor the religious laity knew how to rise in defense of what they had held dear. The Patriarch did show courage, and resisted the bolshevist leaders, and they did not venture to proceed to extremities against him; but he seems to have been a rare exception. This submissive attitude of the mass stands in singular contrast with the spirit which was shown in Continental Europe and still more in Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when men fought fiercely for religion on both sides. Think of the Scottish Covenanters, for instance, down to the days of the Revolution of 1688. Here is an interesting subject for investigation by those who wish to explain the phenomena of modern Russia and its startling Revolution. B.

Hellenism Among Hebrews

Hellenism. By Norman Bentwich. Jewish Publication Society.

MR. BENTWICH has in his "Hellenism" attempted to describe the results of the meeting of the Jewish with the Hellenic wisdom. He shows how at first only the outward signs of the Greek spirit made their way to Palestine. It was not Greek philosophers but nude gymnasts who were the heralds of the new thought. One hears of no Jew adopting the names of Socrates or Aristotle; it is rather Menelaus and Jason who are held up as models for the people, and by whose names the highest in the land called themselves. As the foreigner believes that the American spirit is completely embodied in Babe Ruth and Jack Dempsey, so the unsophisticated Palestinian connected the fame of Hellas not with Aristophanes and Euripides, but with Theseus and Heracles. It was the victory of the Maccabees that put an end to this introduction of the basest element of Hellenism into Judea. But the Hasmoneans could not keep out Greek ideas. There followed a period in which Greek wisdom flowed again to Palestine, but this time it was not the coarse externals that appealed to the mob, but the beauties that were Greece. The ancient Hebraic lore was recast because of the influence of the new thought and the new ideas that were aroused in the people. The challenge that philosophy set the Rabbis could be met only by a deeper and better understanding of their own traditions. The new assimilation served as a stimulus to the Jewish mind.

There was no longer a clash between the two cultures; there was rather a grafting of two different plants, both of which were rooted in the same basic human spirit. In Alexandria this union bore fruit in a long line of thinkers, culminating in

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Philo. In the land of Israel, where the Hebraic culture was so much stronger, there resulted two new religions. Rabbinic Judaism as well as Pauline Christianity would have been impossible without the mingling of the Greek idea with that of the prophets and scribes. The two are more similar than is generally thought. Their struggle of two thousand years has emphasized their differences, but they are indeed brothers. In Rabbinic Judaism, the Jewish element (that of practice) predominates; in Paul, theology is given the first place. But few are the elements of the one that are completely absent in the other. Perhaps Mr. Bentwich does not emphasize sufficiently the permanent Greek contribution to Rabbinic Judaism. The systematization of Jewish law, the ideas of immortality, the development of mysticism, were all profoundly influenced by the presence of the Hellenic influence, and might have been impossible without it. The influence of the new civilization was, after the time of the Maccabees, more subtle, more spiritual, but for that reason more permanent, than it had been before their day.

Books in Brief

A CLEAR and beautiful style combines with a thorough knowledge of the subject to make Albert Leon Guerard's "French Civilization from its Origins to the Close of the Middle Ages" (Houghton Mifflin) a boon to the student and to the lover of the country of which it has been said, with only pardonable exaggeration: "Tout homme a deux pays, le sien et puis la France." The description of the land and its people is worthy of Polydore Vergil if not of Herodotus. Each section is brought before us in all the richness of its local individuality. Barren Brittany, the only part of France to which the nightingale never comes, with its Celtic speech and its religious bent of mind—Abelard, Chateaubriand, Lamennais, and Renan were all Bretons; rich and fertile Normandy, the "landes" around Bordeaux, the quaint Savoy, the dreamy and yet practical Marseilles, and finally Paris, skeptical, cosmopolitan, in the vanguard of civilization, are all painted before our eyes to the very life. The author stands for "integral history," that is, for social and intellectual rather than political and personal history. To him battles and the overthrow of governments are but accidents and epiphenomena, unimportant compared to the discovery of fire, or the invention of printing, or the revelation of Jesus. Standing sturdily against the theory that there is a French race, he claims nevertheless that there is a French civilization, for France is a state and perhaps, like Massachusetts, a state of mind. One may follow with delight his portrayal of this civilization, from its origins in prehistoric Gaul through the Roman conquest to the establishment of the Christian commonwealth and of a lay society. The defense of Gothic art as beautiful not only in architecture but in sculpture is interesting. One may add a single criticism of this excellent book in the form of a question: Why does the author pay so much attention to a worthless German writer like Houston Stewart Chamberlain and so little to some of the best authors who might have added to his knowledge of the subject? His careless statement, to take one example of several, that Tacitus's "Germania" is a satire rather than an objective study, could not have been made by anyone familiar with E. Norden's brilliant analysis of the work in question. Norden shows that the "Germania" was not only a serious study, but a study working with sources already developed into a definite ethnological school in the writings of Herodotus, of Poseidonius and of the "Corpus Hippocraticum," and of Pliny's "Bella Germanorum."

UNDER the high-sounding title "Une Nouvelle Philosophie de l'Histoire Moderne et Française" (Paris: Bernard Grasset), M. René Gillouin utters a few desultory and modest criticisms of some theses recently advanced by M. Ernest Seillière. The gist of his argument is that Rousseau is the father of the modern world because he brought in six new kinds of mysticism: social, democratic, passional, racial, proletarian, and aesthetic. These new mysticisms show themselves in blind, irrational worship of certain fetishes, as the race, the people, labor, sex, and art. Rousseau found his inspiration and spiritual ancestry not in the Reformation but in the French quietism of Mme. Guyon; and to his influence are due the writings of Quinet (the democratic mystic), of Fourier, Proudhon, and Marx (social mystics), of Byron and a number of French novelists (sexual mystics), of Stendhal, Vigny, and Flaubert (aesthetic mystics), and also the racial mania showing itself now as Aryanism, now as Anglo-Saxonism, now as Germanism. No criticism of these large theses would be adequate short of a volume, but one may ask why is not "omniscient mysticism" added to the dire forms of irrationalism pullulating in the present age?

His Newest Book

THE SALVAGING OF CIVILIZATION

by

H. G. Wells

$1.69

R. H. Macy & Co. Inc.

Herald Square New York

WHAT THE SERPENT SAID TO EVE:

Shaw

"When you and Adam talk, I hear you say, 'Why?' You see things and you say 'Why?' But I dream things that never were, and I say, 'Why not?'"

This thought, that Shaw puts into the mouth of the Serpent, in the first of his five great new plays, is Shaw's own attitude in the book.

5 New Plays

He has dreamed of things that may be, beginning far back in the days of the Garden of Eden, and reaching into a far-distant future. And, brilliantly, startlingly, impudently, as only Shaw can do it, he asks "Why not?"

After you have read this most deliciously Shavian of all Shaw's prefaces, and these five new plays, forming one unified conception more stupendous in scope than anything else Shaw has ever done, you, too, will ask, "Why not?"

Back to Methuselah

By BERNARD SHAW

Publishers : BRENTANO'S : New York

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International Relations Section

The Menshevik Collapse in Georgia

UPON the overthrow of the Menshevik Government of Georgia and the establishment of a soviet government, the former ministers and officials fled to Constantinople, where they issued the following appeal, addressed "To the Socialist Parties and Labor Organizations of the World":

Comrades! We appeal to you in the name of the Georgian people whose liberty and independence have been destroyed by the armies of bolshevist Russia.

For a long time the Government of Moscow had been bent on extending its dominion over Georgia, the sovietizing of which was an indispensable element in the bolshevist policy with regard to the Orient. On the question of the methods to be pursued in realizing this aim two currents of opinion existed among the Bolsheviki. The one—held chiefly by the Bolsheviki of Central Russia—calculated upon a domestic upheaval within Georgia. The other—mainly among the Caucasian Bolsheviki who were aware of the real sentiment among our people—held that the Bolsheviki had no ground for calculating on a revolution within Georgia, and that our country should be sovietized by Russian bayonets.

At first the former opinion prevailed. The Moscow Government attempted to sovietize Georgia by means of insurrections fomented by its agents and paid for with its gold. Attempts at such insurrections made in several villages of western Georgia in 1919 were immediately put down by the local inhabitants themselves. Likewise, an attempt made by a group of Bolsheviki to foment a revolt among the cadets of the military school of Tiflis on May 1, 1920, ended in dismal failure.

After the signing of the Russo-Georgian treaty of May 7, 1920, according to which the Moscow Government recognized the independence of the Georgian Republic and undertook to abstain from all interference with the domestic affairs of Georgia, the Bolsheviki continued their efforts to overthrow the Georgian Government by means of insurrections and conspiracies. To realize this purpose, they abused the freedom of propaganda which they enjoyed in our country. The diplomatic embassy of Moscow, in particular, which had hundreds of members on its staff, was engaged in propaganda directed against the Government of the Republic.

However, all efforts of the Bolsheviki remained fruitless. Neither propaganda, nor the millions at the disposal of the agents of Moscow, were able to shake the loyalty of the Georgian people toward the Social-Democratic Menshevist Party to which they had intrusted the Government. This party had always stood at the head of the Georgian people. It led its struggle against Czarism, and it represented it in the four Dumas. From the beginning of the 1917 Revolution the Georgian people intrusted the same party with the task of consolidating the liberty it had won. Summoned in 1918 by the will of the people to assume the organization of the independent state of Georgia, the Social-Democratic Menshevist Party used all its powers to inaugurate extensive reforms in the political domain as well as in the economic. Confiscation of landlords' estates and their distribution among the peasants; socialization of forests, mines, railways; nationalization of the chief branches of foreign trade; labor protection; establishment of local self-government organs created on a basis of universal suffrage; fostering of public education and of political self-assertion among the people—such is the substance of our statesmanship, guided by the firm conviction that democracy is the only road to socialism.

This conviction is shared by the laboring masses of Georgia, and by the Soviet of Workmen's Deputies in particular, in which our party had, ever since the beginning of the Revolution, up to the last days, from 90 to 95 per cent of all the votes.

Having convinced themselves that their propaganda met with no success in our country, the Bolsheviki abandoned their hope for insurrections and decided to conquer Georgia by force of arms.

On November 28, 1920, Trotzky pronounced a sentence of death on the Georgian Republic in a great speech before the Moscow Congress of Secretaries of the Communist Party. "After the sovietizing of Armenia, it is Georgia's turn next," he said. "It needs but a slight effort to unite Batum with Baku."

In December, 1920, the Commander of the Russian Army, Gekker, was asked to prepare a report showing what armed forces were required for the conquest of Georgia. In his very circumstantial report he stated that he could complete this task only if the Angora Government should be in favor of the plan. The Bolsheviki were forced to postpone their attack on Georgia. But from that moment the bolshevist troops commenced to mass along our borders. All the protests of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia remain futile.

"The time has come to finish with Georgia," the bolshevist press kept repeating over and over again. Especially vigorous was the campaign carried on by the papers of Baku and the northern Caucasus. And while the General Staff at Moscow was scheming for a death-blow at the liberty of the Georgian people, the Soviet diplomatic embassy at Tiflis was organizing its espionage and was bent upon increasing the misunderstandings between Russia and Georgia, so as to provide bolshevist imperialism with a pretext to open hostilities. Simultaneously, the Moscow Government did not cease assuring the Georgian people of its peaceable and friendly intentions.

On February 11, 1921, the Russian troops belonging to the 11th Army invaded Georgia from Armenia. Mr. Sheinman, the representative of the Moscow Government, declared to us that Russia knew nothing about this attack, which was ostensibly the act of the Armenian Government. This statement be made at the very moment when the representative of Soviet Armenia, Mr. Shaverdov, was assuring us that Armenia was taking no part in this invasion and that she was prepared to settle amicably all disputes existing between her and Georgia.

On February 15, Sheinman received a code telegram from Baku, from the Commander of the 11th Army, reading: "It has been decided to cross the Rubicon. Act in accordance with this decision."

At the same time new units of the 11th Army, reinforced by cavalry detachments, crossed the border of Georgia from Azerbaijan.

On February 16 the President of the Georgian Government made an attempt to open parleys with Moscow by direct wire, but Mr. Karakhan, the substitute of the Moscow Commissar of Foreign Affairs, who was at the telephone in Moscow, refused to parley. Thereupon the President of the Government attempted to communicate with the representative of Georgia in Moscow, but without success, as the Bolsheviki, pretending that the wire was out of order, refused to summon the latter to the telephone. On the following day the Tiflis wireless station received a message in which Chicherin, pretending that he was not aware of any attack on Georgia by the Russian Army, offered the Georgian Government the services of Russia as mediator between Georgia and Armenia. Entertaining no illusions whatsoever concerning the sincerity of this offer, the Georgian Government replied that it accepted the offer of Chicherin, on condition that the Government at Moscow recalled the Russian troops from Georgian territory.

This reply was received by the Soviet wireless station, but that did not deter the Moscow Government from subsequently announcing in its own wireless dispatches addressed to the rest of Europe that it had not received any reply.

Meantime hostilities continued. The blow aimed at Tiflis

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from two directions met with the heroic resistance of the Georgian people. The proletariat of Tiflis took its stand in the front ranks of the defenders of the city. The factories and mills of Tiflis came to a standstill as the workers marched off to the battle-front. This enthusiasm was crowned with success: the Army and National Guard of the Georgian Republic, notwithstanding that they were inferior in point of numbers and armament, beat off all attacks of the enemy.

On the 21st of February the President of the Georgian Government dispatched a wireless message to Chicherin, asking him the reasons for the war started by Russia on the little Georgian Republic. "What do you demand of us?" he asked in this wireless message. "Formulate the aims for which you have started war on us. Maybe we can come to terms without bloodshed." Receiving no answer to this message, the President of the Georgian Government on February 22 addressed Lenin and Trotzky, proposing that they cease the war, the nationalist nature of which was beyond doubt. No reply to this message was received either. The Government at Moscow had decided to carry the war against Georgia to the last, to the annihilation of our republic.

To our proposals to stop the war it answered with an advance in three more directions: along the Georgian military highway, from the direction of Vladikavkas; across the Mamiossonsky mountain pass, toward Kutais, and along the coast of the Black Sea, from the direction of Sotchi. Georgia was surrounded on all sides; against her there were in the field the 11th Army, units of the 8th, 9th, and 13th Armies, besides the cavalry detachments of Budenny and Zhloba.

Popular enthusiasm, a stream of volunteers, all that might have enabled the Georgian Government to augment the forces of resistance, but we had not enough rifles to arm all who were ready to lay down their lives for the liberty and independence of their country. We were without shells, while the Bolsheviki, abundantly supplied with all necessary materials, were all the time throwing fresh regiments against us.

At this juncture the Bolsheviki received support from that direction to which Gekker called attention in his report: the Government at Angora hastened to the assistance of the Moscow Government in its attempt to crush Georgia.

On February 23 the Government at Angora sent us an ultimatum demanding the evacuation of our troops from Ardagan and Artvin. Unable to muster sufficient forces to oppose the Turkish advance at this new front, we were compelled, making a vigorous protest against the action of the Turks, to recall our troops from these cities. Meanwhile our military situation grew more and more difficult. Attacked on five sides, compelled to scatter her forces along an enormous front line, the Georgian Republic was waging the war under far too unequal circumstances. Her army was in danger of being surrounded and annihilated, notwithstanding all the heroism of the soldiers. Thereupon the High Command of Georgia decided to evacuate Tiflis, to withdraw the troops and to concentrate them on strong positions where the army might have a safe rear. In conformity with this decision, the troops on all fronts were ordered to retreat fighting to the left bank of the Rion, preserving Batum as a base of operations. On February 25 Tiflis was evacuated by our troops, and our retreat in the forementioned direction commenced.

Following the occupation of Ardagan and Artvin, the Angora Government informed us that it had no other claims against Georgia and offered us its assistance in preventing the bolshevist troops from invading the Batum territory. It asked us to place no obstacles in the way of the entry into this territory of Turkish troops, who, according to the declaration of the Angora Government, would take part in the defense of the territory against the Bolsheviki.

Upon entering Batum, however, the Turks declared on March 16 that the Great National Assembly of Angora had resolved to annex the city and territory of Batum to Turkey. In conformity with this decision, the Turks attempted by force of arms to seize the public institutions of Batum as well as the fortifications commanding the city. At the same time they also served us with an ultimatum to disarm our troops.

A fierce battle was fought between the Georgians and Turks in the streets of Batum. The Turks were driven from the city. But from that moment a new front had grown up before us, and in the very direction where we had reckoned upon a safe base of operations. The treachery of the Government of Angora deprived us of our last opportunity to continue the struggle along the Rion River line. Our troops, surrounded on all sides by the armies of two militaristic states—bolshevist Russia and Turkey—was doomed to perish, without the slightest chance of victory.

On March 17 the Government of Georgia resolved to give up the struggle on the bank of the Rion, and to disband the army. This decision opened the road to Batum for the Bolsheviki. On March 18 the Government of Georgia abandoned Batum, and a few hours later the bolshevist troops entered the town.

It goes without saying that the Turks, who had declared themselves determined to prevent the Bolsheviki from capturing the city and territory of Batum, welcomed them as allies; in fact several days earlier the Kemalists and the Bolshevist Government had signed a treaty in Moscow by which the Turks recognized the Bolsheviki as masters of Georgia and relinquished in their favor their claims to Batum, receiving by way of compensation two districts of southern Georgia—those of Ardagan and Artvin and part of the Batum territory.

Such was the course of events which led to the destruction of a state built by the workers and peasants of Georgia and which established in the place of a democratic republic the military dictatorship and arbitrary rule of the Moscow bayonets.

In order the better to appreciate this crime of bolshevist imperialism, it is necessary to bear in mind that the free and independent Georgian Republic always strove to maintain friendly and neighborly relations with Russia. Respecting the wishes of the Russian people, she had never been a party to the policy of intervention in Soviet Russia. She rejected any compact whatsoever with the forces of the Russian counter-revolution. She opposed most resolutely all attempts at utilizing her territory as a base of military operations against Russia.

Thus our country is now occupied by Russian bolshevist troops. The Bolsheviki themselves realize fully the situation created by this war. They understand that their rule cannot meet with anything but hatred in the country they have seized. Having taken Georgia by force of arms, they are now seeking an understanding with the people. This is the real motive behind Lenin's instructions to the 11th Army, published in the bolshevist papers of Transcaucasia. "The Red Army of the Soviet Republic," says Lenin in this document, "is only temporarily on the territory of Georgia." He recommends to this army the following: "It is necessary, by energetic agitation, to blot out the Menshevist influence over the people and to spread among them widely a communistic influence instead."

Lenin finds himself compelled to admit that the Georgian people are decidedly hostile toward bolshevism, and he points a way out of this situation: "It is exceedingly important that we seek an acceptable compromise with Jordania or similar Georgian Menshevists."

Comrades! Do these instructions recall nothing at all to your memories? For they are absolutely identical with the instructions given by the General Staff of William II to the troops designated for the occupation of Belgium. Those, too, were told to seek some acceptable compromise with the population of the country they had enslaved.

However, violence and bayonets cannot alter the spirit of a people dedicated to liberty. Georgia, which has shown so much determination in her struggle against the yoke of Czarism, will with still greater determination fight her new oppressors who are not less cruel and not less treacherous than the minions of Nicholas II. Georgia, which boasts of a past history of many centuries, will know how to reconquer her independence and

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return to the fulfilment of her historic mission interrupted by the invasion of the Bolsheviki.

The Georgian people in their struggle have a right to rely on the fraternal support of the proletariat of the world. It is for that support that we appeal to you, comrades. You have always strictly condemned wars of aggression. Do the culprits in the war against Georgia merit lesser condemnation just because they cover their imperialism with the banner of communism?

We expect of you to brand the crime of oppressors of our country and the hypocrisy of those who make use of bayonets to "blot out" the influence of Socialist ideas for the dissemination of their own ideas.

Lift up your voice, comrades, and demand of the Moscow Government *that it recall its troops from Georgia and that it grant the Georgian people the right to shape its own destinies and freely to organize its life and its state.*

Constantinople, March 27, 1921

Revolutionary Georgia Retorts

THE Revolutionary Committee of Soviet Georgia, which by formal agreement took control on March 25 of the government of that country, issued the following proclamation dated at Tiflis on April 12.

The Georgian revolutionary upheaval which led to the overthrow of the power of the Mensheviki, the agents of international imperialist reaction, and to the establishment of workers' and peasants' rule, was followed by a concerted campaign of lies and calumnies against Soviet Georgia and Soviet Russia. The overthrown Menshevist Government, along the path of its shameful flight with the stolen treasury of the Georgian people, is spreading malignant, slanderous falsehoods about the Georgia of the workers and peasants and is appealing to the imperialists for assistance for a new Georgian invasion. False statements are spread by the bourgeois press, alleging that Soviet Russia committed acts of violence against democratic Georgia, which supposedly became the victim of imperialistic aggression by the Russian Workers' and Peasants' Government. Hence the conclusion is drawn of the necessity for intervention to free Georgia from invaders who presumably carry death and destruction.

Let honest men, all over the world know, let the liars and slanderers who hate the proletarian revolution themselves learn the truth, that in Georgia the power has passed into the hands of the toilers as the result of a victorious rising by the workers and peasants, ruined by the regime of the Georgian Mensheviki. In Georgia, liberated from the lackeys of the international capitalistic robbers, there reigns, ever since the establishment of the Revolutionary Government, exemplary order and perfect freedom for the workers. During the month and half of the existence of workers' and peasants' rule there has not been a single terrorist act in the entire country, there has not been a single case of murder nor of the violence so common under the so-called democrats now overthrown. The victorious working class has granted all its enemies without exception complete amnesty. If in Georgia, despoiled by the Menshevist Government, there is now no famine, she has to thank exclusively the fraternal aid of her neighbor soviet republics in supplying Georgia with bread, petroleum, and other necessities, which imperialism denies to nations struggling to straighten their backs and throw off their oppressors.

The Revolutionary Government of Georgia draws the attention of the workers of the world to these new designs by the international robbers who, in league with pseudo-Socialists, assail the workers and peasants of Georgia for the purpose of again enslaving her emancipated toilers of city and village. To the black designs of international reaction the toiling masses of Georgia will oppose an ironclad solidarity and a desire for freedom and victory over any hostile attempt against the workers' and peasants' rule of Georgia. . . .

Russia's Version

THE facts leading up to the overturn in Georgia as stated in the appeal of the Georgian Mensheviki, printed above, are at variance with the version given by the Russian news agency, Rosta, in a cable dated March 2 and reprinted in *Soviet Russia* (New York) for April 9.

The Armenian uprising was preceded by a series of protests occasioned by the fact that the Georgians had occupied the neutral zone between Georgia and Armenia. This neutral zone was established with the help of England after the Armenian-Georgian war of 1918. In 1919, with the permission of the Entente, the Georgians occupied the northern part of the neutral zone. On the occasion of the Turkish attack, the Georgians occupied, with the permission of the *Dashnak*[1] Government the southern part of the neutral zone; later they advanced and seized arbitrarily the northern part of undisputed Armenian territory. The *Dashnak* Government protested against this as early as November 27. The Armenian Soviet Government requested as early as December 7 that Georgia evacuate the unjustly occupied territory of the neutral zone. For the same reason the Armenian Soviet Government sent a great number of other protests to the Georgian Government. It protested also against the reprisals of the Georgians especially against Communists, who were arrested in great numbers and treated in an atrocious manner. Moreover, the Georgians were in every possible way forcing the Armenian population to express their willingness to be annexed to Georgia; they even forced Armenians to give their signatures for this purpose. In these protests the Armenian Soviet Government also called attention to the desperate situation in which the Armenians found themselves due to the fact that the Georgians did not permit the transit of trains with foodstuffs for Armenia. During the two months' negotiations carried on by Georgia with Armenia and Russia, Georgia permitted the transit of only two trains of foodstuffs for Armenia, viz., at the end of December and at the end of January, on which occasion Georgia put such obstacles in the way that Armenia succeeded in getting these food supplies only with the greatest difficulty. In the beginning of February, Georgia finally prohibited the passage of foodstuffs for Armenia.

This question is, moreover, connected with a number of other questions which led to friction between Georgia and Russia. Under an agreement of December 16 Georgia pledged itself to return to Russia all Russian ships which would enter Georgian harbors—an obligation which Georgia did not keep. In the middle of December mass arrests of Communists began in Georgia and those connected with the Russian Mission were arrested. Under the agreement with Soviet Russia on May 7, Georgia had pledged itself to give the Communist party a legal standing and was ready to appoint a mixed commission for the examination of the cases of the arrested Communists and employees of the Mission. On December 20 Sheinman[2] left for Baku for a few days for the sake of convenient connection with Moscow. In that moment the Georgian Government broke all its promises: the Communist Party was broken up and those connected with the Mission were brought to the penitentiary in Citiass.

All these arbitrary actions Russia answered by prohibiting the delivery of oil to which Georgia was entitled under the transient trade agreement. Then came Georgia's ruling: the prohibition of transit to Armenia and the unjustified occupation of the neutral zone as well as of northern Armenia by Georgia.

Thereupon Armenia and Russia asked for the appointment of a mixed commission for the settlement of the territorial question with equal participation of Russia, Georgia, and Armenia. Georgia declined the commission and left open the question con-

[1] Armenian Nationalists.
[2] The Russian Soviet representative in Georgia.

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cerning the form of Russia's participation. Georgia refused to give full satisfaction for the robbing of a Russian courier on a steamer in Batum by Georgian secret policemen, as well as for the insult to the Russian flag hoisted in January by the Russian Sailors' Union.

The refusal of oil ordered by Sheinman was answered on the part of Georgia by the seizure of Russian goods in Georgia, especially all goods of the *Centrosoyuz*. On February 11 an Armenian revolt began at Shagali on Armenian territory which soon spread to the neutral zone. On February 13, the revolt spread to Mohammedan villages in the district of Bortschilink, canton of Karjass. At the same time all telegraph connection of the Russian Government with the Caucasus was cut off, the Georgians having apparently cut the telegraph line. But it was possible to pick up isolated radios from which it was evident that the revolt had spread to the north to places near Signach and Shulavery, so that shortly afterwards the insurgents were only six miles away from Tiflis. Some radios point to negotiations between the Georgians and the *Dashnaks*, who on February 17 were promised ammunition and food supplies and were advised to occupy the road leading to Erivan. When on February 19 the *Dashnaks* penetrated Erivan, they were asked in a radio from Tiflis to attack the Armenian insurgents in the rear. On February 21 a radio from Tiflis informed the *Dashnaks* that the French fleet was acting in full agreement with the Georgian Government and was shelling the Black Sea coast at Mekhodyrki. The Georgian envoy in Moscow, Makharadse, visited Chicherin on February 19 and expressed the conviction that the insurrection of February 11 was begun on the instigation of the Entente for the creation of a new front.

On February 14 Moscow obtained for the last time a short telegraph connection with Tiflis, and on that occasion it became known that the Russian representative had suggested to the Georgian Government to proceed to the insurgents together with a representative of that Government in order to start negotiations, but that the Georgian Government had rejected this suggestion. At the same time Saratov picked up a radio of the Georgian Government for transmission to the Georgian Envoy, Eristov in Warsaw. This radio reported that Soviet troops were acting on the part of Armenia and Azerbaijan and that the Armenian and the Azerbaijan Missions in Tiflis were arrested. On February 18 the Russian Government sent to Tiflis an offer for mediation delegating Ycnukidse with far-reaching powers, in order to find a way out of the conflict. The Georgian Government left this proposition unanswered, thus apparently rejecting the mediation. An attack on Georgia by the Red Army did not take place.

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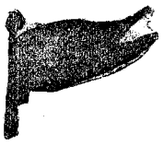

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